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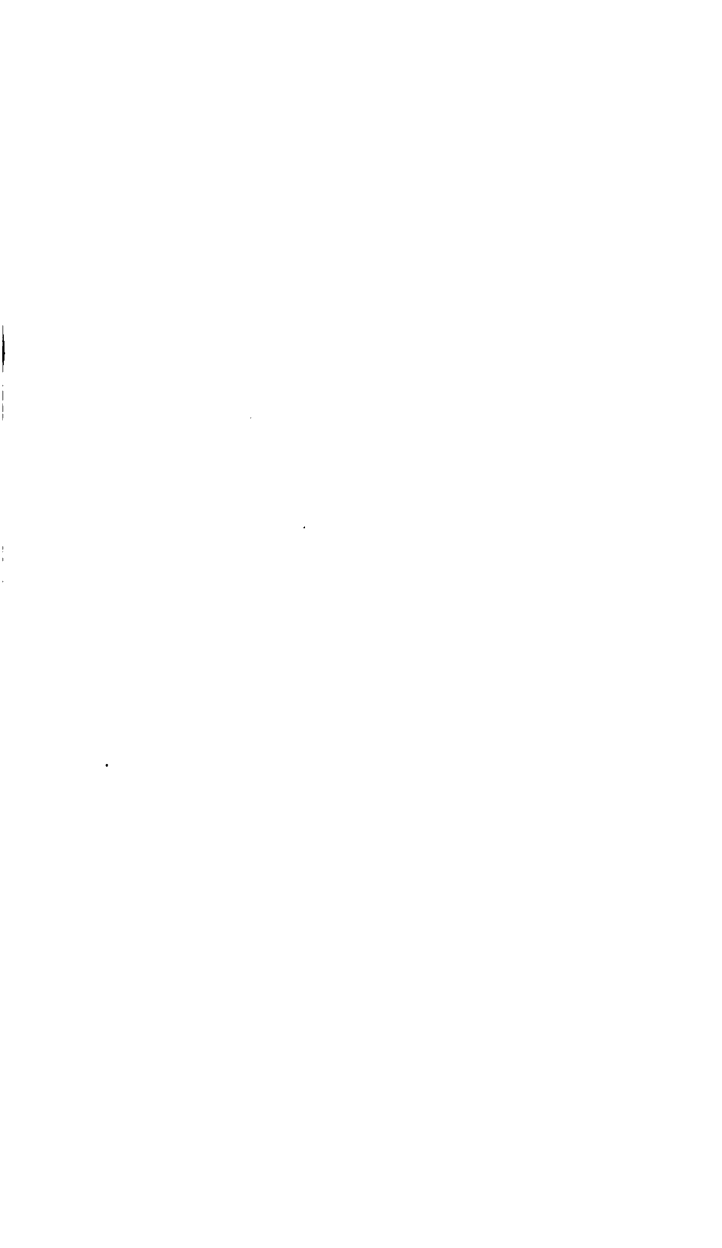
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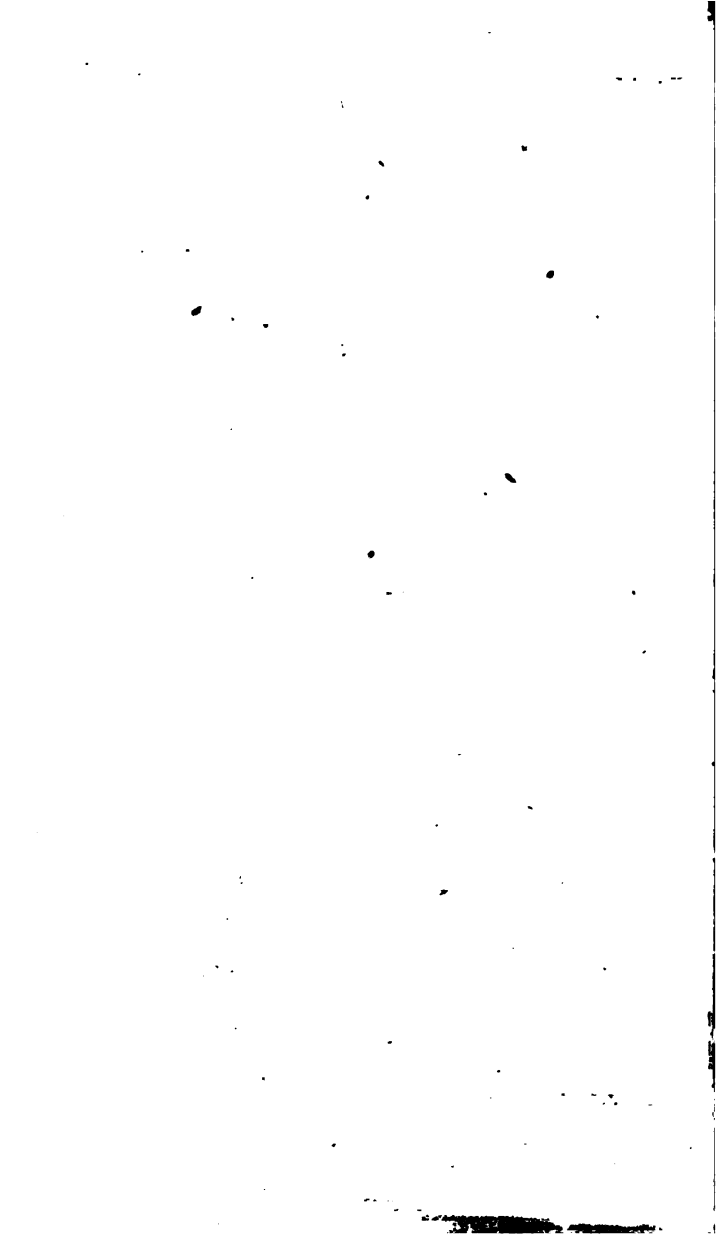












**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND ;**  
**CONTAINING**  
**AN IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT**  
**OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF**  
**The Irish Revolutionists,**  
**From the Year 1792, until the Suppression of**  
**THE INTENDED**  
**REVOLUTION.**

**TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,**  
**A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**IRELAND.**

**By the REV. JAMES GORDON.**

**WITH COPIOUS**  
**ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS**  
**FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS UPON THIS SUBJECT ;**  
**PARTICULARLY PREPARED FOR THIS**  
**FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.**

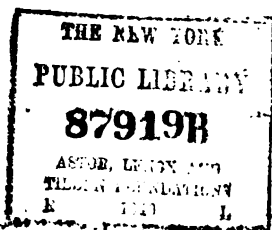
**VOLUME FIRST.**

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**Baltimore ;**

**PRINTED FOR SAMUEL BUTLER & PECHIN & FRALLEY,**  
**BY JOHN WEST BUTLER, SOUTH GAY STREET.**

**1805..**



**DISTRICT OF MARYLAND : TO WIT.**

**BE** it remembered, That on the ninth day of February, in the twenty-ninth Year of the Independance of the United States of America. Samuel Butler of the one part, and Messrs. Pechin and Frailey of the other part, of the said District, have deposited in this Office the Title of a Book; the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit. "HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND, containing an Impartial Account of the proceedings of The Irish Revolutionists, from the year 1782, until the suppression of the intended Revolution, to which is prefixed, a Geographical and Historical account of Ireland, by the Rev. James Gordon; with copious additions and corrections, from various authors upon this subject, particularly prepared for this First American Edition." In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors or Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

**PHILIP MOORE,** *Clerk of District Court*

CCG  
withdrawing  
FEB 14 1918  
**PREFACE**

TO THE

**AMERICAN EDITION.**

**ALTHOUGH** the professed object of the Rev. JAMES GORDON, in writing the following work, was to give an *impartial* and *unbiased* account of the unsuccessful attempt of the Irish to emancipate themselves from their degrading thralldom, yet the imperious calls of self-security rendered the full attainment of this desirable object impossible. Living under a despotic government, exasperated by the immense loss of blood and treasure expended in the reduction of these brave but unfortunate sons of freedom, he very well knew, that any one attempting to tell the *whole truth*, would be frowned into silence, and the imprudent and luckless author be doomed to add one more to the long list of Irish martyrs. He, therefore, prescribed to himself certain bounds, beyond which he has not dared to pass;—he has written as impartially as circumstances would permit, but very differently from what he might have done had he penned it in our own free and happy country.

To remedy this defect, and to supply all the deficient narrative of Gordon, has been the unwearied care of the Publishers, and they are happy to assure the readers of this interesting history, that their exertions, they flatter themselves, have been crowned with success.

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## PREFACE.

The sources from which they have derived this additional and corrective information, are various. They have made copious extracts from Messrs. Hay, Plowden, and Cowper's histories of this rebellion, and from several *proscribed* pamphlets, the printing and sale of which in Ireland, if discovered, might have been considered treasonable, as they contain many impartially narrated facts, which the government wish to conceal or misrepresent.

As it may be presumed, that some of our readers may not be fully acquainted with the situation of Ireland, we have, to illustrate the work, prefixed a short Geographical, Topographical and Historical description thereof.

With these Additions, Corrections and Alterations, the Publishers now present to their free and enlightened countrymen, GORDON'S HISTORY OF THE IRISH REVOLUTION, as the most impartial, faithful, and interesting history on that subject, now extant. In this favoured country only, could such an one be printed; as, here, the Liberty of the Press, unfettered by the arbitrary hand of power, diffuses the rays of truth and impartial information, throughout our happy land.

BALTIMORE, *March*, 1805.

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A SHORT  
HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION  
OF  
IRELAND.

ITS EXTENT—RIVERS—BAYS—HARBOURS—  
LAKES—POPULATION—RELIGION—GOV-  
ERNMENT—CLIMATE—SOIL—CITIES—  
TOWNS—CURIOSITIES—LITERATURE, &c.

NAMES.] **T**HE large and fertile Island of IRELAND, being situated to the west of Great Britain, was discovered by the Phœnicians, as early as the sister Island; and it appears that it was known to the Greeks by the name of JUVERNA, about two centuries before the birth of Christ. When Cæsar made his expedition into Britain, he describes HIBERNIA as being about half the size of the Island which he had explored; and, while the Romans maintained their conquests in the latter region. Ireland continued, of course, to be well known to them, and Ptolomy has given a map of the Island, the general shape, rivers, and promontaries of which, are delineated with as much accuracy as could have been expected at so remote a period. Towards the decline of the Western Empire, the

## 6 HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

Romans discovered that the ruling people in Ireland were the Scotia; and thenceforth the country began to be termed SCOTIA, an appellation retained by the monastic writers till the eleventh century, when the name Scotia having passed to modern Scotland, the ancient name of Hibernia began to re-assume its honors. It is supposed that this name, and the Gothic denomination, Ireland, are modifications of the native term ERIN, implying the Country of the West.

**DIVISIONS.]** Ireland is divided into four provinces. On the north, lies Ulster; on the east, Leinster; on the south, Munster; and the west, Connaught. The subdivisions are counties, of which the following is a list.

ULSTER. { Donegal,  
Londonderry,  
Antrim,  
Tyrone,  
Fermanagh,  
Monaghan,  
Armagh,  
Down,  
Cavan.

LEINSTER. { Louth,  
Meath,  
Longford,  
Westmeath,  
Dublin,  
King's County,  
Kildare,  
Queen's County,  
Wicklow,  
Carlow,  
Kilkenny,  
Wexford.

CONNAUGHT. { Leitrim,  
Sligo,  
Mayo,  
Galway,  
Roscommon.

MUNSTER. { Clare,  
Tipperary,  
Waterford,  
Limerick,  
Cork,  
Kerry.

**EXTENT.]** The extent of this noble Island is about 300 miles in length, and about 160 in breadth. The contents, in square miles, may be computed at 30,370 English miles.

**POPULATION.]** The population of Ireland, according to the committee of the Irish Catholic Bill, and some late writers, amount to Five Million inhabitants; but the most authentic documents seem to restrict the number to about Four Millions and a Half.

**ARMY.]** Besides large contributions to the British army, Ireland has recently raised and equipped upwards of One Hundred Thousand regulars and militia. If we suppose every eighth person capable of bearing arms, Ireland might raise a force of more than Five Hundred Thousand men.

**RELIGION.]** The conversion of Ireland to Christianity, was followed by the erection of a vast number of grand monasteries, which produced such a number of men for piety and learning, that Scotia or Ireland, became celebrated all over Christendom. The legal religion of Ireland, at present, is that of the Church of England; but it is computed that more than two thirds of the people are catholics; and of the remaining third, the presbyterians are supposed to constitute more than one half.

**GOVERNMENT.]** In Ireland the King governs by deputy; and his Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy, is

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competent to the execution of the laws; or in his absence, or on his decease, the Lords Justices are the supreme governors. The laws are enacted by authority of the two houses of parliament, under the name of the Parliament of the United Empire of the British Isles.

CLIMATE, SEASONS, AND SOILS.] The climate of Ireland differs not much from that of England, excepting that it is more temperate as to heat and cold; but its air is more humid, from the adjoining Atlantic, which is one of the worst and most inconvenient circumstances attending it. This unavoidable evil, from natural causes, is aggravated by the increase of it from others, which is both moral and political. From cruel and unjust oppressions, the hand of industry hath been long idle, in a country, where almost every advantage might be obtained from its labour, and where discouragements on the labourer, must necessarily produce a state of languor. Ever since the neglect of agriculture in the ninth century, the rains of so many ages, subsiding on the lower grounds, have converted most of the extensive plains into mossy morasses, and near a tenth part of this beautiful Isle is become a repository for stagnated waters, which, in the course of evaporation, impregnate the air with noxious exhalations.\* But, in many respects, the climate of Ireland is more agreeable than that of England: the

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\* O'Connor's Dissertations.

Summer being cooler, and the Winter less severe. The piercing frosts, the deep snows, and the dreadful effects of thunder and lightning, which are so frequently observed in the latter kingdom, are seldom experienced here.

The dampness above alluded to, being peculiarly favorable to the growth of grass, has been used as an argument why the inhabitants should confine their attention to the raising of Cattle, to the total desertion of tillage, and injurious to the consequent growth of population; but the soil is so infinitely various, as to be capable of almost every species of cultivation suitable to such latitudes, with a fertility equal to its variety. This is so conspicuous, that it has been observed by a respectable English traveller, that “natural fertility, acre for acre, over the two kingdoms, is certainly in favour of Ireland; of this there can scarcely be a doubt entertained, when it is considered that some of the most beautiful, and even best cultivated counties in England, owe almost every thing to the capital, arts, and encouragement of its laws.”

We shall conclude this article with the further sentiments of the same author (Mr. Young,) whose knowledge of the subject, acquaintance with the kingdom, and candor, are unimpeachable.

“The circumstance which strikes me, as the greatest singularity of Ireland, is the rockiness of the soil, which should seem, at first sight, against that

degree of fertility ; but the contrary is the fact. Stone is so general, that I have good reason to believe, the whole Island is one vast rock of different strata and kinds, rising out of the sea. I have rarely heard of any great depths being sunk without meeting with it. One cannot use, with propriety, the terms clay, loam, sand, &c. it must be a stoney clay, a stoney loam, a gravelly sand.

“ Friable sandy loams, but fertile, are very common, and they form the best soils in the kingdom for tillage and pasturage.

“ Sand, which is so common in England, and yet more common through France, Germany and Poland, quite from Gibraltar to Petersburg, is no where met with in Ireland, except in narrow slips of hillocks, upon the sea coast. Nor did I ever meet with, or hear of a chalky soil.

“ Besides the great fertility of the soil, there are other circumstances which come within my sphere to mention. Few countries can be better watered by large and beautiful rivers ; and it is remarkable, that by much the finest parts of the kingdom are on the banks of these rivers. Witness the Suir, Blackwater, the Liffey, the Boyne, the Nore, the Barrow, and the Shannon ; they wash a scenery that cannot be exceeded.

“ The mountains of Ireland give to travelling, that interesting variety which a flat country can never

abound with. And, at the same time, they are not in such a number as to confer the usual character of poverty, which usually attend them ; but the mountains here are clothed with verdure, and have the softest and most beautiful turf imaginable. I was either upon, or very near, the most considerable in the kingdom. Mangerton, and the Reeks in Kerry ; the Galties, in Cork ; those of Mourne, in Down ; Crow Patrick and Nephin, in Mayo ; these are the principal in Ireland, and they are of a character in height and sublimity which should render them the object of every traveller's attention. Pasturage, and meadow ground abound in this kingdom ; but tillage, from political causes, is too much discountenanced, though the ground is excellent for the culture of all kinds of grain ; and in some of the northern parts of the kingdom, abundance of hemp and flax are raised, a cultivation of infinite advantage to the linen manufacture. Ireland rears vast numbers of black cattle and sheep, and the Irish wool is excellent. The prodigious supplies of live cattle, beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheese, tallow, raw hides, tanned leather, dried soap, candles, fish, lead, copper ore, &c. broad-cloths, freezes, fine stuffs, wool, and linen, with many other things too tedious to mention, shipped and carried to all parts of the world, afford the strongest proofs of the natural fertility of the Irish soil."



**RIVERS, BAYS, HARBOURS and LAKES.]** The numerous rivers, enchanting lakes, and spacious bays, commodious havens, harbours and creeks, with which, Ireland abounds, greatly enrich and beautify this country.

The Shannon issues from lough Allen, in the county of Leitrim, serves as a boundary between Connaught and the three other provinces, and after a course of 150 miles, forming in its progress many beautiful lakes, it falls into the Atlantic Ocean, between Kerry-Point and Loophead, where it is nine miles broad. The Ban falls into the ocean near Coleraine: the Boyne falls into St. George's Channel at Drogheda, as does the Liffey at the bay of Dublin, an inconsiderable river, ennobled by the capital, where it forms a spacious harbour. The Barrow, the Nore, and the Suire, water the south part of the kingdom, and, after uniting their streams below Ross, they fall into the channel, at Waterford haven.

But the bays, havens, harbours, and creeks, which every where indent the coast, form the chief glory of Ireland, and render this country beyond any other in Europe best fitted for foreign commerce. The most considerable are those of Carrickfergus, Strangford, Dundrum, Carlingford, Dundalk, Dublin, Waterford, Dungarven, Cork, Kinsale, Baltimore, Glandore, Dunmanus, Bantry, Kenmore, Dingle, Shannonmouth, Galway, Sligo. Donegall, Killebegs, Lough-Swilly, and Lough-Foyle.

Ireland contains a vast number of Lakes, or as they were formerly called, Loughs, particularly in the provinces of Ulster and Connaught. Many of them produce large quantities of fine fish: and the great lake Neagh, between the counties of Antrim and Down, is remarkable for its petrifying quality. Some of the Irish lakes afford the most beautiful and romantic prospects, particularly that of Killarney, which takes its name from a small town in the county of Kerry. This lake, which may be divided into three, is entirely surrounded with mountains, rocks and precipices, the immense declivities of which are covered with woods, intermixed with evergreens, from near their tops to the lakes themselves; among which a number of rivulets tumbling over the precipices, some from heights of little less than 300 feet. On the top of one of the surrounding mountains is a small round lake of about a quarter of a mile in diameter, called the Devil's Punch-Bowl. From the surface of the lake, to the top of the cavity, or brim of the bowl, may be about from three to four hundred yards, and when viewed from the circular top, has a most astonishing appearance.

The depth of it is vastly great, but not unfathomable, as the natives pretend. The discharge of the superfluous waters of this bowl through a chasm into the middle lake, forms one of the finest cascades in the world, visible for 150 yards. The echoes among the hills surrounding the southern parts of the lake,

which are mostly enclosed, are equally delightful and astonishing. It is diversified with upwards of three hundred isles, most of them well wooded, inhabited and beautified by the ruins of many noble monasteries. The proprietor, The Earl of Kenmore, has placed some cannon in the most proper places for the amusement of travellers; and the discharge of these pieces is tremendous, resembling most the rolling of a violent peal of thunder, which seems to travel the surrounding scenery, and die away among the distant mountains. Here, also, musical instruments, especially the horn and trumpet, afford the most delightful entertainment.

**CURIOSITIES.]** Were the beautiful glens, and subterraneous caverns in Ireland, less numerous, they might readily be admitted as rarities.

Of the most singular, the Giants Causeway must be distinguished as the greatest natural curiosity, being the most remarkable one of its kind in the known world. The name of it may naturally convey to us the idea of some stupendous work of art. To conceive a proper idea of this unparalleled curiosity, we may imagine an approach to it from the sea; its first appearance is that of a bold rocky shore, with extensive ranges of shelving, on which people may walk. The rocks instead of being disposed in laminæ, or strata, form basaltes, or angular columns. The adjacent coast is verdant, but precipitous; and from it the

Causeway projects into the sea, to an unknown extent. The part explored is about 600 feet in length ; the breadth from 240 to 120 ; the height about 36 feet above the level of the strand. It consists of many thousand pillars, mostly in a vertical position ; some of them high, others broken, and for a considerable space, of an equal height, so as to form a pavement. The columns, generally, are pentagonal, and are so closely attached to each other, that, though perfectly distinct from top to bottom, scarcely any thing can be introduced between them. Towards the N. E. is what is called the organ, consisting of fifty pillars standing by themselves ; that in the middle is 50 feet high, the others gradually diminishing.

On a minute examination, each pillar is found to be separable into several joints, whose articulation is neat and compact beyond expression, the convex termination of one joint always meeting a concave socket in the next ; besides which, the angles of one frequently shoot over those of the other, so that they are completely locked together, and can rarely be separated without a fracture of some of their parts.

These are the obvious external characters of this extraordinary pile of basaltes, observed and described with wonder by every one who has seen it. But it is not here that our admiration should cease ; whatever the process was, by which nature produced that beautiful and curious arrangement of pillars so conspicuous

about the Giants Causeway ; the cause, far from being limited to that spot alone, appears to have extended through a large tract of country, in every direction, insomuch that many of the common quarries for several miles around, seem to be only abortive attempts towards the production of a Giants Causeway.

CAVES.] In the neighbourhood of Kilkenny are a number of caves, which are supposed to be equal to any in the world ; those of Antiporos, in the Archipelago excepted. The following extract is from a description of them, written by a gentleman on the spot.

“ After a difficult descent of about one hundred feet, the entrance into this subterraneous world is gained. The appearance of the first cavern is uncommonly awful, and gives rise to the idea of a grand gothic structure in ruins. The solemnity of this place, is not a little increased, by the gaiety of those scenes that present themselves on every side previous to our entering it. The circumference of this cave, is not less than 200 feet, and its height about 50.

“ This place is not destitute of inhabitants, for immediately upon entering into it, you are surprised with a confused noise, which is occasioned by a multitude of wild pigeons. Hence there is a passage towards the left, which introduces the spectator to a place far more curious than the rest. On entering into it, one is almost induced to believe one's self situated

in an ancient temple, decorated with all the expence of art: yet, notwithstanding the beauty and splendor that catches the eye on every side, there is something of solemnity in the fashion of the place, which must be felt by the most inattentive spectator. The floor, in many parts, is covered with a crystalline substance; the sides are incrustated with the same, wrought in a taste not unlike the inverted pyramids of the same elegantly white and lucid matter. When you quit this curious apartment, the guides lead you for a considerable way through winding places, until a glimmering light agreeably surprises. Here the journey, of above a quarter of a mile, through those parts, is ended: but upon returning into the first cavern, the entrance into other apartments, less curious indeed, but as extensive as those we have described, offers itself; by these we proceed until the noise of a subterraneous river is heard, but farther none have ventured."

Amongst the numerous glens in Ireland, distinguished for particular beauty, are two in the county of Wicklow. The Glen of the Downs, is a pass between two vast ridges of mountains covered with wood, which have a noble effect; the vale is no wider than to admit the road, a small gurgling river almost by its side, and narrow slips of rocky and shrubby ground which part them: in the front, all escape seems denied, by an immense conical mountain, which rises out of the glen, the scenery is of a most magnificent character.

The Durgle, is a narrow vale, formed by the sides of two opposite mountains; the whole thickly spread with oak at the bottom: it is narrowed to the mere channel of the river, which tumbles from rock to rock. The extent of wood that hangs to the eye in every direction, is great, the depth of the precipice immense, which, with the roar of the water, form a scene truly interesting. In less than a quarter of a mile, the road, passing through the wood, leads to another point of view to the right; it is the crown of a vast projecting rock, from which you look down a precipice absolutely perpendicular, and many hundred feet deep, upon the torrent, which finds its noisy way over large fragments of rocks. At some distance below, is a vast chasm in the rock, which seems torn asunder, to let the torrent through, that comes tumbling over a rocky bed far sunk in a channel embosomed in wood.

**CITIES AND TOWNS]** DUBLIN, the capital of Ireland, is in magnitude and number of inhabitants, the second city in the British dominions; and not exceeded by any city in Europe for the taste and magnificence of its public and private buildings. It is situated 270 miles N. W. of London, and near 60 miles west from Holyhead in North Wales, the usual station of passage vessels between England and Ireland. Dublin stands about seven miles from the sea, at the bottom of a large and spacious bay, to which it gives name, upon the river Liffey, which divides it

almost into two equal parts, and is banked in with stone through the whole length of the city, on both sides, which forms spacious and noble Quays, where vessels, below the first bridge, load and unload before the merchants doors and warehouses. The increase of Dublin within these last twenty years is very great. It now contains near 300,000 souls and is daily increasing both in extent and population. The entrance into the harbour, is thought to be one of the most beautiful in Europe; and one of the greatest and most laudable undertakings that this age can boast of, is the building of a stone wall about the breadth of a street, of a proportionable height, and three miles in length on each side, to confine the channel of the bay, and to shelter vessels in stormy weather. The civil government of Dublin, is by a Lord Mayor &c. the same as in London. Every third year, the Lord Mayor, and twenty-four companies, by virtue of an old charter, are obliged to perambulate the city, and its liberties, which they call *riding the Franchisis*; Upon this occasion, the citizens vie with each other in shew and ostentation.

In this city are two Cathedrals (Christs and St. Patricks) 18 Episcopical churches, 8 chapels, 3 churches for French, and 1 for Dutch protestants, 7 presbyterian meeting houses, 1 for methodists, 2 for quakers, and 19 Roman catholic chapels; 4 nunneries, 1 Jewish synagogue, and 14 hospitals.



CORK is the second city in the kingdom, and capital of the province of Munster, governed by a Mayor and other magistrates. It is seated on an Island in the river Lea. The island is intersected by several canals, either natural or artificial, which, being banked in, bring up ships almost to every street, and greatly facilitate their trade. The situation of the city is partly on a rising ground on the north and south, and the middle on a level; it is three miles long, and two broad, and is uncommonly populous for its extent, containing 100,000 inhabitants. Formerly, the streets and houses were as narrow and inelegant as those of equal antiquity; but the public and private buildings, of late years, are in the style of modern elegance, and alike declare the improved taste, spirit, and riches of the inhabitants, who have been at all times distinguished for their liberal hospitality and agreeable suavity of manners. The trade of Cork is very considerable, and in times of war it is the great market for provisions, from whence the British navy draw an inexhaustible supply.

LIMERICK is situated on the Shannon, one of the noblest rivers which any European Island can boast, and placed in one of the most fertile counties in the kingdom. It contains above 50,000 inhabitants, and is 92 miles S. W. by W. from Dublin, and about 70 miles from the sea.

**BELFAST**, though a few years since of inferior or second rate consequence, now ranks amongst the first towns in Ireland ; to which importance it has arrived, by the most rapid progress, and for which it is indebted to the enterprising activity of its merchants, and from its situation, being the medium, through which are conveyed the imports and exports of a populous and manufacturing country. Belfast is in the county of Antrim, on the river Logan, at its junction with the lough of Belfast ; it is supposed to contain between thirty and forty thousand inhabitants, governed by a Sovereign and 12 Burgesses.

**WATERFORD** is a city of considerable importance, situated on the river Suir. It is the fourth place in the kingdom, and has an excellent harbour, where ships of the greatest burden may ride at the quay. It suffered greatly in the late disorders ; and the inhabitants cannot now be supposed to exceed 40,000. The white glass, and other manufactures of Waterford, are in a flourishing state ; and its exports of beef, pork, butter, hides, tallow, corn, &c. are considerable ; to which, the extensive inland navigation it has, by means of the Nore, Suire, and Barrow, greatly contributes ; as it also does to the import trade, from the demand for foreign commodities in the several rich counties and flourishing towns, through which these rivers flow. The trade it carries on with Newfoundland, and of which it enjoys the principal share, is of the utmost importance. Some idea of the provision trade here,

may be formed by the vast number of large hogs killed, which amount to upwards of 3000 per week, for many weeks together.

The other considerable towns in Ireland, are, **GALWAY**, seated on the noble bay of Galway, on the Western Ocean, 120 miles W. from Dublin. It is a county in itself, governed by a Mayor, two Sheriffs, and a Recorder.

**LONDONDERRY** stands on the river Foyle, and is a neat and beautiful city. It has been a Bishop's See nearly 600 years. It is famous for the noble defence it made at the Revolution, for 105 days, under the severest famine, against a numerous army. Its trade is considerable; the exports consist of linen, linen-yarn, grain, &c.

**KILKENNY** is pleasantly situated on the river Nore, distant 57 miles S. W. from Dublin, and is governed by a Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen.

**WEXFORD**, a considerable sea-port town, stands near the sea, upon the river Slaney. It was once reckoned the chief city in Ireland, and is more remarkable for its ancient and military fame, than for its present commerce.

**NEWRY**, in the county of Down, is a town of considerable consequence; and, by a noble canal which joins the Banan River, has a communication with Lake-Neagh, and all the circumjacent neighbourhood.

**DROGHEDA**, seated on the river Boyne, which is navigable for ships of burden to the quay, is a county in itself; and governed by a Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, and Aldermen.

And **ARMAGH**, which is not only one of the greatest markets for linen, but is, perhaps, unrivalled by any other of equal extent, for the beauty of its public buildings, for which it is indebted to the unexampled munificence of its Primate.

**ORIGIN OF IRELAND.]** The Irish Nation appears to be of greater antiquity than any other in Europe. And several Historical Writers agree, in saying, that the Irish have been, from the most remote antiquity, a polished people, “and with propriety they may be called the **FATHERS OF LETTERS.**” We are even told, that Egypt received arts and letters from Neulus the Phœnician, who is represented as the great ancestor of the Irish nation. But these accounts, rests entirely on the credit of Christian writers, and their collections from old poets, or their transcripts of records deemed to have been made in times of Paganism. This nation has, in common with other countries, its druidical remains; as circles of stones, cairns, tumuli, in which urns are commonly found, cromliachs, &c. and it appears, till this day, there remains with their language, a remarkable vestige of their manners and sacrifices; they kindle fires on high places at midsummer eve, though Christianity has long since supplanted the worship of the sun.

It is generally known, that, from the remote ages of antiquity, the children of men have migrated from the east to these parts of the world ; and it has been thought by some, that colonies of that very ancient people, the Scythians, and with more appearance of probability, that the Phœnicians, or their descendants, the Carthaginians, found their way to Spain along the Mediterranean, and from thence to this Island, at a very early period, under the name of Milesians ; moreover, that the Phœnicians, who were a maritime people, traded to this country.

The tumuli, or monumental heaps, in Ireland, and the name of *Scotia*, first applied to this country, have been justly considered as derived from the Scythians, and with a far more substantial appearance of truth, the very curious antiquities of Ireland have been considered as remains of the Phœnicians, and the arts they introduced. Of these, the most incontestable, are the various metal instruments, especially the brazen swords, which are the same metal and construction, of those lately found upon the plains of Cannæ, with which the Carthaginians fought. There has been a striking agreement also discovered between the Irish and Punic languages.

The most noted antiquities of Ireland, are the Pharos, or round columnal towers : The learned, however, are not agreed about the particular use to which these edifices were applied ; some say, they were places of

penance ; others say, that they were anchorite pillars, such as Simon Stylites, and his followers, with uncommon austerity and perseverance, to the amazement of the gazing multitude, used to stand upon, motionless like statues, and, as it were, removed from the earth, and its lower cares, to meditate only upon Heavenly things.

**LITERATURE.** The Literature of Ireland has a venerable claim to antiquity ; for, as has been already mentioned, in the centuries immediately following the introduction of Christianity, many writers arose, whose works principally consist of lives of Saints, and works of piety and discipline, presenting to the inquisitive reader many singular features of the history of the human mind. The chief glory of the ancient Irish literature, arises from the revival of the rays of science, after it had almost perished in Europe, on the fall of Roman Empire in the West. The *Anglo-Saxons*, in particular, derived their first illumination from Ireland ; and in Scotland, literature continued to be the special province of the Irish clergy, 'till the thirteenth century.

Greece and Egypt, in very remote antiquity, were seminaries of learning to the rest of the world ; and Ireland, in latter days, seems to have answered the same description to the other nations of Europe. When the ravages of the Goths and Vandals, had desolated the improvements of Europe, and reached

also to a considerable extent on the African Continent ; and when *Monkish Superstition*, still more baneful to science, had completed what the Goths begun, learning appears to have flourished in Ireland. Spencer says, it is certain that Ireland had the use of letters very anciently, and long before England ; he thought they were derived from the Phœnicians. Bede speaks of Ireland, as the great mart of literature, to which they resorted from all parts of Europe. He relates, that Oswauld, the Saxon King, applied to Ireland for learned men, to instruct his people in the principles of Christianity. Camden says, it abounded with men of splendid genius, in the ages when literature was rejected every where else ; according to him and others, who wrote at the same time, the abbies Luxieu in Burgundy, Roby in Italy, Witzburg in Frankland, St. Gall in Swisserland, Malmsbury and Lindisfern in England, and Jona in Scotland, were founded by Irish Monks. The younger Scaliger, and others, say, at the time of Charlemagne, and two hundred years before, almost all the learned were of Ireland. The first professors in the University of Paris, were from this Island : and the great Alfred even brought professors to his newly founded college of Oxford, from this country. It would be too tedious, to enumerate the benefits diffused through various parts of Europe, by the numbers of distinguished and learned men from Ireland, who imparted the early lights of Science and of Christianity, and founded monasteries in various

parts of Britain, France, and Italy. At this day, the Patron Saints, as they are called, of several nations on the continent, are acknowledged to be Irish; hence we may see, how Ireland obtained the name of *Sanctorum Patria*. We have also the testimony of venerable Bede, that, about the middle of the seventh century, whole flocks of nobles, and other orders of the Anglo-Saxons, retired from their own country into Ireland, either for instruction, or for an opportunity of living in monasteries of stricter discipline: and the Scots (as he styles the Irish) maintained them, taught them, and furnished them with books, without fee or reward: "a most honorable testimony," says Lord Lyttleton, "not only to the learning, but likewise to the hospitality and bounty of that nation." Dr. Leland remarks, that a conflux of foreigners to a retired Island, at a time when Europe was in ignorance and confusion, gave peculiar lustre to this seat of learning; nor is it improbable or surprising, that seven thousand students studied at Armagh, agreeable to the accounts of Irish writers, though the seminary of Armagh was but one of those numerous colleges erected in Ireland, and the grand ruins of them, to this day, stand as so many learned monuments of the ancient and literary fame of the country. Ireland retained the name of *Scotia*, till so late as the fifteenth century, with the addition of *Major*, or *Vetus*, to distinguish it from *Caledonia* or *Albania*, that is, the present Scotland,



## 28 HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION, &c.

which, in the eleventh century, began to be called Scotia Minor, as deriving its improvement immediately from hence. The ancient Scotch writers, of the greatest repute, are so far from denying their Irish extraction, that they seem to glory in it; and King James I. in one of his speeches, boasts of the Scottish dynasty being derived from that of Ireland.



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THE  
HISTORY OF  
THE  
CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND.

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**I**N the new world, the spirit of Independence first awoke from her long trance. The genius of Liberty, after establishing the freedom of her hardy sons in that remote quarter of the globe, traversed the Atlantic Ocean, and winged her flight towards Europe. She first alighted upon the shores of Ireland. The influence of that visit ran through the country with electrical rapidity.

At the close of the AMERICAN WAR, the combined fleets of France and Spain were riding triumphant in the Irish Channel, and her shores, then destitute of any military force for defence, were every moment threatened with a formidable invasion.

In this perilous situation, Ireland was advised by the British ministry to defend herself as well as she could, as she was left no other resource. The latent spirit of the nation was roused at the approach of danger. Upwards of one hundred thousand heroes instantly appeared, self-clothed, self-armed, perfectly equipped and appointed, ready to oppose, with dauntless courage, the menacing foe that would rashly venture to insult their coast. These were the ever memorable and ever glorious volunteers of Ireland. The enemies of Britain were all at once, completely intimidated, they shrunk into their ports; and the shores of Ireland, then too commanding for an attempt to land, were left unmolested. Her people were united in harmonious resolution; every breast glowed with patriotic ardor; and the salvation of Ireland to the sister kingdom, otherwise left to inevitable destruction, was the consequence. The hour of security and social intercourse produced reflection. The saviours of their country quickly discovered that they existed in a state of thralldom to the British Parliament. They demanded a redress of grievances; it could not be refused; and the national legislature was consequently declared independent.

This great event took place in 1782, and a rapid increase of national prosperity succeeded; her commerce being less shackled, became more extensive, and the capital of the island improved in splendor and magnificence. But it was with the utmost reluctance, and under circumstances of imperious necessity, that these concessions seemed to be made by the British Cabinet, while the most malignant envy rankled in the bosoms of the enemies of Ireland. But there was no alternative. A diffusion of liberal sentiment, and an unity of interests, had combined men of all ranks and persuasions in the common cause. The unhallowed monster of religious bigotry could no longer be introduced by the government to foment prejudice and sow baleful division; all was concord and unanimity. But the object of creating disunion, and annulling the benefits obtained, was never lost sight of by the ministry; and the happy state of Ireland continued uninterrupted, only until the dissolution of the volunteer associations, (and this was contrived as speedily as possible) and until other schemes were put in practice to dissipate the union of sentiment which so happily prevailed.

Much time was not lost, therefore, to put every engine of bribery and corruption at work for this detested purpose.

In 1784, the British parliament went the full length of annihilating the independence so lately acquired, and imposed new restrictions on its trade and manufactures. This treacherous and ungenerous proceeding, excited a sudden and general indignation among the Irish, many of whom extended their views now to a wider sphere of political freedom.

A provincial assembly, as if produced by the force of magic, was instantly convened at Dungannon, consisting of the representatives of a hundred and forty-three volunteer corps, with design, among other objects, to plan and petition for a parliamentary reform, or a more equal representation of the Commons in parliament: This meeting, swelled, in 1785, into a national assembly, composed of delegates from the several counties, and held in Dublin under the title of the "GRAND CONVENTION."

The failure of this measure in November, the same year, was attributed to the weakness of national disunion, the triple partition of the people, divided by the religious antipathies of

protestants, protestant dissenters, and Roman catholics. If all these discordant sects could be persuaded virtually to abandon religious distinctions in a pursuit of political reform, and cordially to coalesce with steady determination in their demands, parliament was imagined to be incapable of withholding its consent. As the main strength of the nation, in respect to numbers, was conceived to rest in the catholics, who might constitute three-fourths of the whole population, to give these a proportionate weight in the system, and to interest them warmly in the plan proposed, was an object of primary magnitude with political reformers. For the removal of those odious restrictions and disqualifications, by which the Roman catholics were deprived of what was accounted their due share of political power, vigorous efforts were made, and various engines put in motion.

Among the modes of agency adopted in those busy times by the favourers of innovation, was the institution of political clubs, which were formed under several titles in the metropolis and elsewhere. The principal of these, denominated "*The Association of the Friends of the Constitution, Liberty, and Peace,*" was honoured by the sanction of his

Grace the Duke of Leinster, and some others of the most illustrious and distinguished characters as its members, whose object was doubtless merely to obtain the reformation of abuses in the political system, and particularly to promote the scheme of a more equal representation of the people in parliament. A few of its members, however, seem to have entertained projects of a deeper kind—projects of revolution, the total subversion of the existing government, and the erection of a free, integral, and independent republic.

These advocates of revolution formed a connexion with other clubs of congenial principles, particularly that of the *whigs of the capital*, whose object was evidently a radical alteration in the political system. The determined agitators of this and other societies, which appeared not to promise a speedy success to their wishes, framed at length a more general and deeply planned association, which outlived all the rest, and far surpassed them in the vigour and conduct of its assaults on the existing constitution of the state.—This was the famous astonishing combination of *United Irishmen*, whose profound conspiracy, after a long, obstinate, and doubtful struggle with the govern-

ment of the kingdom, was forced in the end, by the vigilance and vigour of administration, feebly to explode in partial, and irregular, insurrections, instead of an universal and well-organized rebellion, the means proposed by the chiefs to overturn the constitution.\*

Originating from Belfast, where principles of a pure and disinterested love of liberty had long been cherished, was instituted in Dublin, in the month of November, 1791, the Society of *United Irishmen*, with the immediate view of combining into one political phalanx as many as possible of their countrymen, without any distinction of sect, for the effectuating of a change in the government of Ireland ; or, as

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\* Mr. Cowper, in his history, says, that in this unhappy contest, brothers were armed against each other's lives, and children against those of their parents. Ireland will long feel the effects of it. Peace was, however, at length purchased (if indeed that dreadful scene which slaughter and desolation produce, deserves the name of peace ;) it was purchased with little less than the loss of one hundred thousand lives. Of these about two thirds were of the United Irish ; the loss of the royalists being about 30,000 men.

In the Capital, he observed the streets were crowded with the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in battle : In the country he beheld the villages every where burnt and razed to the ground. Every thing he cast his eyes on, presented the melancholy features of ruin and desolation.



themselves have declared, “ for the purpose of  
“ forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a  
“ communion of rights, and an union of power  
“ among Irishmen of every religious persua-  
“ sion, and thereby to obtain a complete re-  
“ form in the legislature, founded on the prin-  
“ ciples of civil, political, and religious liber-  
“ ty”\*

Catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform, were the avowed objects of their pursuit. By the former was understood a total abolition of political distinctions between Catholics and protestants: by the latter they meant to exclude the borough representation from the House of Commons. In the plan which they offered to the consideration of the public, they proposed that the parliament should be chosen every three years; that for the purpose of election, the whole kingdom should be divided into three hundred electorates, each formed by a combination of parishes, and all as nearly equal as possible in point of population; that no qualification with respect to religion should be required in the elector nor in the representative; that

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\* Appendix to the report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, No. 2.

every male of sound understanding, of the full age of twenty-one, and resident in the electorate during the last six months preceding the election, should be capable of suffrage for a representative: that to be qualified for a seat in the house of commons, a man should be twenty-five years old, resident within the kingdom, and holding neither place nor pension under government, and that each representative should receive a reasonable stipend for his attendance in parliament.

To attain their object by a military force was attempted so early as the year 1792, when money was raised by subscription to arm and embody a number of men in the metropolis, under the title of *National Guards*, with an uniform distinguished with green, which was adopted as the national colour, and buttons inscribed with a harp, the armorial ensign of Ireland, divested of the crown, to denote, as was supposed, the intended abolition of monarchy. The ninth of December was appointed as a day of general muster of these guards, probably with the design to display their force, to inspire confidence into their friends, to dispirit their adversaries, or perhaps, as was feared by some,

to seize even then the city, and commence a civil war.

During the whole of these proceedings the arm of government seemed palsied, and the nation looked on, appalled spectators of the scene. The steadiness of the physician seemed overpowered by the very aspect of the disease. It appeared as if little more than the cast of a die was to determine whether *REVOLUTION* or *TREASON* was to be the watch-word of Ireland.

At length, however, the government took courage, and wisely determined to suppress in their commencement, all armed associations not authorised by the supreme power of the state.

On the eighth of December, the day immediately preceding that of the intended muster, a proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, peremptorily interdicting all seditious assemblies, and commanding the magistrates to suppress them by military force, if admonition should be found not sufficiently efficacious.

Intimidated by the menacing language of this proclamation, and the subsequent martial array of the garrison stationed in the capital, the national guards deferred their meeting, and

the long proposed muster never took place. The heads of the society, however, met on the 14th following, and published a kind of manifesto, or counter-proclamation, exhorting the volunteers to resume their arms, for the maintenance, as before, of tranquillity throughout the kingdom, against foreign and internal enemies, and advising the protestants of Ireland to choose deputies for provincial assemblies, preparatively to a general convention, which they declared necessary to form a common cause with that of the catholics. On account of this manifesto, many of the conspirators were seized, some of whom were men of the first rank and fortune, and of the most amiable characters, and the warmest philanthropy.

Among them was Mr. Hamilton Rowan, who had acted the part of Secretary at the above assembly. This gentleman was brought to trial in January, 1793, found guilty by the jury, and sentenced to banishment.

In the same year Doctor William Drennan, and the Hon. Simon Butler, who had been chairman in the same assembly, was on trial acquitted; but Mr. Tandy, a citizen of Dublin, and some others, who had been active members of political societies, fled the kingdom; and the

proceedings of the conspiracy, though not less rigorous, became, however, less open. They had coupled their cause with that of the Catholics; and every exertion which was made for that oppressed body, was paving the way to the designs of the conspirators.

The narrative of the collision of these two parties, until an explosion took place, may be comprized in a few words.

Lord Westmorland, in a speech from the throne, recommended the claims of the Catholics to be taken into immediate consideration; and the expectation of their complete emancipation (as it was figuratively called) ran very high. The impulse of all disinterested men was greatly in favour of the measure. The greatest share of talents on both sides of the water, were exerted in its behalf. Burke\* wrote

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\* The zeal with which this great man (who is now no more, but who will live in memory as long as the language which he wrote in shall be spoken or read, and as long as there shall be any taste remaining in the world, or any admiration of the purest ethics taught in the most enchanting and bewitching style) displayed throughout his whole life, and until the hour of his dissolution, in behalf of his distressed countrymen the Catholics of Ireland, must evince, even to the most sceptical, the justice and sincerity of his exertions.

and spoke for the catholics, and sent his only son over to Ireland ; and the whole eloquence of the British House of Commons was roused in their behalf. To oppose this, the aristocracy of Ireland proceeded to array an army of their own, under the name of the Orange party, which was formed to perpetuate the abuses and oppressions of the government, by discountenancing every innovation.

They openly avowed themselves determined to shed the last drop of their blood before any concessions should be made to the catholic body.

It was even represented, that they had entered into a "solemn league and covenant to destroy them, and that they had sworn to wade up to their knees in popish blood !" \*

The day when the massacre was to commence was even mentioned.

This declaration, notorious as to its publicity, added fresh fuel to the flame of the conspiracy, and may be considered as the cause of all the calamities which have since afflicted this unfortunate country : for it was it, which

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\* See the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, No. 16. The truth of this is fully ascertained.

brought the catholic body into the field at the time fixed on by the conspirators for a general rising.

It must be confessed, that there was but too much appearance of reason to justify the catholics in believing this suggestion of a massacre.

Orange Lodges were spread over the country in which the rebellion broke out, more numerous than through the other parts of the kingdom. Oaths were administered to those only of the protestant persuasion who enrolled themselves of that party ; the nature and purport of which the peasantry were unacquainted with, but which they were led to believe, were for the design of exterminating them. Neither is there any doubt but that such a wish has been professed by many of the Orange party, who openly declared, that Ireland would never be at rest until the Roman catholics were completely exterminated. Such a sentiment has even been avowed in the public deliberations of the Legislature. The well informed author of a respectable publication, on the state of affairs in Ireland, in the year 1799,\* has this remarkable passage :

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\* Considerations on the state of public affairs in the year 1799. Ireland, page. 63.

“ And, though there may be men of ferocious minds who would exterminate the Natives ; though I have heard an atrocious policy avowed in the public Councils, by which they were to be armed and let loose upon each other ; though I have heard the offer of Union condemned as a remedy inadequate to the evil, and the salvation of the few asserted to depend upon the extermination of the majority ; that the catholics must be extinguished and put out ; that not a single Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity ; though *I have heard these sanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a House of parliament*, yet I am satisfied that they are confined to a few breasts not more wicked than they are weak.”

What answer does the Government party make to this charge, which stands thus openly upon record ? they refuse to plead to the indictment ; they stand obstinately mute : their guilt must therefore be taken *pro confesso*.\*

The inference is, that the miserable peasantry, in giving credit to the assertion of a

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\* Among the many Government writers who have written on the “ present Political state of Ireland,” not one of them attempts to answer the above Passage.



general massacre, acted upon good collateral evidence, which, when added to the positive proof of the Orange oaths, purporting their destruction, must entirely acquit them of every crime. It must evince their conduct to have been nothing but an exertion of the mere right of self-defence ; that right which no law can take away, because it is paramount to all law ; that right which no aristocracy can overthrow, because it has for its basis human nature. It must reduce their criminality to the *fault* of possessing too great a share of manly heroism, in resisting with such energy of soul, a system of the most unparalleled cruelty and oppression.

All the circumstances relating to the impolitic and inhuman measures adopted at this period, by the Irish Government, are, however, so fresh in the recollection of every man, that it would be abusing the patience of the reader to attempt to recapitulate them. Suffice it to say, that the odious and unwise determination of resisting Catholic claims, contributed considerably in bringing the affairs of Ireland to a speedy crisis, and to that desolating Civil War which afterwards ravaged her. Nothing could have happened more opportune to the

framers of the Union, who roused that great body, as the instrument, by which the constitution, both in church and state, was to be completely overturned.

While the conductors of the general association were labouring to extinguish all religious antipathies, and to combine their countrymen of all sects indiscriminately into a political brotherhood, the chiefs of the sect, which predominate in zeal and numbers, planned a particular association, apparently co-operating with, and constituting a part of the former, but accused by some of entertaining separate views. Encouraged by the previous declarations of several protestant assemblies in their favour—by Edmund Burke and his disciples in Britain—by the oppositionists in parliament, and by the association of United Irishmen, the leading men among the Catholics of Ireland, ever watchful of events for the advantage of their sect, formed in 1792, what was called the *Catholic Convention*.

This assembly had for its members, the Lords Kenmore, and Fingal, together with all the principal Catholic gentlemen of dignity and distinction throughout the kingdom.

The secret committee of this convention, issued writs to the gentry of that communion throughout the country for the election of deputies to compose an assembly representative of the whole body of Irish Catholics. Two deputies were chosen in each parish by the majority of all the adult males of the congregation assembled at the Roman chapels : the parochial deputies chose in each county two representatives ; all of whom, together with the representatives of cities and towns corporate, similarly chosen, composed the Catholic Convention, public as to its assembly, in Guild-Hall of Dublin. Having elected nine of its number to remain a *permanent committee* for the management of the projected schemes, the convention closed its session. By the authority of this assembly, and its permanent representative the committee, great sums were assessed and regularly levied on the Catholics, all of whom submitted implicitly to the orders of this their supreme council, as of the most firmly established government. But the application of this money is as yet a secret, except a very small part avowedly given to some agents of this coalition, particularly fifteen hundred pounds to Theobald Wolfe Tone, the most active of them.

The Protestants were so much alarmed at this bold procedure of the Catholic Convention, in issuing writs for electing a general convention, that the grand juries, at the summer assizes, 1793, encouraged by the conduct of government, entered into violent resolutions, condemning it in severe terms ; and declaring, that they would maintain the constitution, as it then stood, against all hostile attacks, particularly against the dangerous effects of republican principles.

The Roman Catholics assembled in July, the same year, in a general meeting at the town of Wexford, and defended the plan of election, and retorted with much acrimony on the resolutions of the Protestants.\* On the 17th of August, they submitted a case to some respectable barristers for their opinion, to know, whether the plan adopted, for summoning a Catholic Convention, was legal and constitutional ? and they answered in the affirmative. These opinions and answers were published in the public prints, in order to give confidence and courage to the leaders of the party, at that time very active in many parts of the kingdom

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\* See Appendix.

It is well known, that great sums of money were, on this occasion, bestowed to such persons about the court, as were supposed able to influence the royal ear in favour of the petitioners.\*

The deputation was graciously received by his Majesty; but the protestants of Ireland were invited to meet in their several counties, and to declare their opinions concerning the

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\* What confirms this belief, is, the following extract from Mr. Keogh's speech in the debate of the Catholic Convention, previously to the presenting of the petition; wherein he says, "That, from the negociation going on at the foot of our throne, there was every reason to expect, that, though a great and vast catalogue of restrictions would be retained, yet sufficient would be removed, to afford protection to all classes of our people."

"I now come to what is more pleasing; that is, to state my opinion, that the time is not remote, when we shall meet to join, with heart and voice, in the sincerest gratitude to Parliament and to Government. When that day arrives, and it will soon arrive, you will then prove your just and unfeigned gratitude to your deliverers, to government, to the legislature, to the illustrious men who espoused your cause in Parliament, to the noble, patriotic, and enlightened citizens of Belfast, the first (let it never be forgotten) who came forward as a body to apply to parliament for our relief."

From the confidence with which Mr. Keogh expressed himself, we may infer, that he knew that their ambassador in London, from his munificence, had received secret assurances from high authority, that they would succeed in their expectations.

emancipation requested by their catholic brethren, in order, as was supposed, that the legislature might regulate its determination, at least in some degree, according to these opinions. Notwithstanding that great pains were taken by pamphlets and speeches, to convince them of the contrary, the protestants mostly feared, that the catholics, if once admitted into a participation of power, would avail themselves of their superiority of number, and subvert the protestant interest.

The critical and dangerous state of public affairs, was seen into by the Earl of Moira, and a few others of the virtuous and enlightened nobility; who, with the most patriotic enthusiasm, hurried over from Great Britain to their native country, and in their places, in the Legislature of the kingdom, proposed conciliatory measures to allay the threatening discontents. But, unhappily, the infatuation of the Irish Parliament, prevented their advice being attended to.

No means were omitted now by the principal oppositionists in Ireland, of cherishing the animosities already excited against the catholics. This may be fairly concluded from

what dropped in the debate on the famous propositions.

A leading person, Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbin, then high in confidence and power with the ruling party, threatened, in the moment of exasperated disappointment, and in terms unfit for decency to utter, that "he would tame the refractory spirit of his countrymen." In truth, he then delivered the sentiments of his party, as well as his own determination, to which he strictly adhered ever after. This man, of a base mind, and of narrow politics, omitted no occasion of accomplishing the humiliation of his native country. Opposing with licentious petulance, all rational schemes of reform; reprobating with plebian ribaldry, the justice of catholic claims; and provoking public anger by insulting public feeling, he saw, with gloomy satisfaction, before his premature dissolution, his ruthless system carried into woeful effect. The trampled populace were goaded to resistance; their smothered sentiments burst into a flame, that was with much blood and treasure extinguished. But to return :

The King was graciously pleased to recommend the relief of his Roman catholic subjects

in Ireland to his two Houses of Parliament in that kingdom. This mode of proceeding, whether accidental or designed by the ministry, augmented mightily the jealousies of the two parties, the Irish of the established, and of the Roman church, as the latter were left to conclude that their protestant countrymen were their foes, while the ministers were their friends.\*

The influence of the monarch, however, in this instance, did not prevail; and the measure was voted against by parliament, who declared their disapprobation of catholic claims.

An effectual obstruction was now made against the catholic convention, for the future, by an act of parliament, styled the convention bill, proposed by the Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon, professing "to prevent the election, or other appointment, of conventions, or other unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, or other addresses, as to his Majesty, or the parliament." This

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\* The policy of at least conniving at the distractions of the Irish, has been adopted since the reign of Elizabeth, in order to retain Ireland in a state of weakness and dependence.



prevented the meeting of an intended national assembly, which was proposed to be convoked in the month of September, the consequences of which, would, in all probability, have been incalculably destructive at that time to the existing government.

If the protestant conductors of the United Irish, had, at the close of the year 1792, succeeded in their attempt to overawe the government, by muster of the national guards, which appeared to be their immediate object, and thence by bolder steps, to compass a revolution, the leaders of the Catholics, who were also members of the United Irish Association, would have had opportunity to unfold and put in execution their particular scheme.

A ferment prevailed which seemed to announce an approaching insurrection ; and at the close of 1793, some local commotions, easily suppressed, took place, particularly about the collieries in the county of Kilkenny, and and in the southern part of the county of Wexford. A body of insurgents, about two thousand in number, attacked the town of Wexford with an ostensible design to liberate some prisoners confined in the gaol of that town ; but

such novices were they then, in military matters, that they were, with the loss of about an hundred of their party, repulsed by the fire of only half a regiment of soldiers, on whose side the brave Colonel Vallotton, fell, by the stroke of a scythe-blade fixed in the end of a pole.

Many of the Catholic gentry, are said to have regretted that their party had let slip such an opportunity as might not again occur, of striking home, by a general insurrection, at an earlier time, when government was less prepared for the attack. In 1795, however, under the lord lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam, the successor of Lord Westmoreland, an ample field was again expanded to their hopes; and in obedience to a mandate of the Permanent Committee, petitions, on a model prescribed, were addressed to parliament by the whole body of that persuasion, demanding a completion of catholic emancipation. This nobleman, being one of the disciples of Edmund Burke, was a warm friend to the Roman Catholics, and a bitter enemy to the French republicans, who had renounced their communion, and yet on whom, notwithstanding, the Catholics of Ireland afterwards depended in a great measure for their emancipation in aiding them in a Re-

volution ; but before he could gratify the wishes of his favorites, the Earl was recalled, and the Earl of Camden sent as Lord Lieutenant in his place.

The regret felt on the recall of this nobleman, even whose good intentions produced such cordiality and harmony amongst all ranks and descriptions of people, is scarcely credible. From that period may be dated the origin of that dreadful state of calamity and misfortune in which Ireland has been since involved, for it is now evident to all, that, had the measures intended to be carried into effect by him, been adopted, the nation would have continued in peace and prosperity.

The removal of Lord Fitzwilliam must ever be considered as one of the greatest misfortunes, that, in the revolution of ages, has befallen this devoted nation. It originated a train of calamitous circumstances, which the disclosing information of every day renders more and more lamentable to the friends of Ireland. The great majority of the people were insulted, public faith was violated ; the cup of redress was dashed from the lips of expectation, and it cannot be wondered at, that

the anger of disappointment should have ensued.

Had the healing balm been applied at the critical moment, the fever of commotion had long since passed its crisis.

Had the benevolent measures, intended by that nobleman, as the basis of his administration, been effected, the rankling wounds of division and distraction were forever closed, nor would the poison of prejudice and party spirit still threaten convulsion and confusion; but harmony, confidence, and peace, would reign throughout the land.

Nothing could now prevent the bursting of the long impending storm. Catholic discontents became insupportable: speeches and resolutions, of a seditious nature, were published by the authority of the committee,\* and dis-

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\* With them was printed and circulated Mr. Erskine's famous pamphlet wherein he says, "That the spirit of reform is at present high in Ireland. The recent zeal of that BRAVE AND VIRTUOUS people, has completely detected the false and pernicious calumnies on both countries. It has demonstrated, that a desire to reform abuses in Government, is not at all connected with disloyalty to its establishment; and that the restoration of a free constitution, by the wisdom and spirit of a nation, has no alliance with, but on the contrary is abhorrent to, a submission to foreign force."

turbances increased in several parts of the country.

Backed and encouraged by the ferment, and the forward state of their preparations, the society of United Irishmen issued declarations, inviting a "compact of presbyterian and catholic;" that "provincial conventions should assemble, and elect delegates to confer with those chosen by protestant bodies of a similar nature and organization." They avowed that nothing would satisfy them but "immediate, ample, and substantial justice to the catholics, and even went so far, as to require the restoration of those estates of which their ancestors had formerly been plundered; but they declared, at the same time they considered *that* merely as the "portal to the temple of national freedom."

After the grand junction of these three bodies, the profound and terrible conspiracy, in a short time spread its ramifications throughout the whole Island, and greatly endangered the established government.

A spirit of disinterested patriotism and magnanimity, seems now to have incited many of

the most exalted personages for rank, fortune, and literary talents, in the kingdom, to join the association, who hoped from the numbers engaged, that, without much bloodshed, a new government might be established, of so liberal a nature as to leave no shackles on industry or merit, and render Ireland a flourishing and happy country. Others, again, of the prime promoters, were actuated, most probably by private ambition, who aspired at an eminence of power and fame, through the medium of a revolution, regardless of slaughter and devastation, its inevitable concomitants.

The confidence of this great and elevated band of reforming politicians, was raised to that degree, that they assumed in the same year, 1795, with little disguise, a revolutionary cast.

The declaration, offered for signature, to each man on his admission into the society, was this: "I, \*\*\* in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parlia-

"ment ;\* and, as a means of absolute and  
 "immediate necessity in the establishment of  
 "this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour,  
 "as much as lies in my ability, to for-  
 "ward a brotherhood of affection, an identity  
 "of interests, a communion of rights, and a  
 "union of power among Irishmen of all reli-  
 "gious persuasions, without which every re-  
 "form in parliament, must be partial, not na-  
 "tional : inadequate to the wants, delusive to  
 "the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom  
 "and happiness of this country."

But now the mention of parliament was omitted in the new test, or oath of admission, which was expressed in these words : "In the awful  
 "presence of God, I, \*\*\* do voluntarily de-  
 "clare, that I will persevere in endeavouring  
 "to form a brotherhood of affection among  
 "Irishmen of *every* religious persuasion ; and  
 "that I will also persevere in my endeavours  
 "to obtain an equal, full and adequate repre-  
 "sentation of *all* the people of Ireland. I do  
 "further declare, that neither hopes, fears, re-

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\* Universal emancipation, with a representative legislature, was now declared to be their "polar principle." The King and House of Peers, together with the ecclesiastical establishment, was therefore left to their fate.

“wards, or punishments, shall ever induce me,  
 “directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give  
 “evidence against, any member or members  
 “of this or similar societies, for any act or ex-  
 “pression of theirs, done or made, collectively  
 “or individually, in or out of this society, in  
 “pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.”\*

That not merely a reform of parliament, however, but a total overthrow of the existing system of government, and the erection of the Irish nation into an independent republic unconnected with Britain, was from the beginning an object with some of the original framers of the Society, we have reason to suppose, particularly from their own declarations and correspondence.

In their original declaration are the following words:—“In the present great æra of reform,  
 “when unjust governments are falling in  
 “every quarter of Europe; when religious per-  
 “secution is compelled to abjure her tyranny  
 “over conscience; when the rights of men  
 “are ascertained in theory, and that theory  
 “substantiated by practice; when antiquity  
 “can no longer defend absurd and oppressive

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 24, of the House of Lords.



“ forms against the common sense and  
“ common interests of mankind; when all  
“ government is acknowledged to originate  
“ from the people, and to be so far only  
“ obligatory, as it protects their rights  
“ and promotes their welfare, we think it our  
“ duty, as Irishmen, to come forward and  
“ state what we feel to be our heavy grievance,  
“ and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

“ *We have no national government.* We  
“ are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants  
“ of Englishmen, whose object is the interest  
“ of another country; whose instrument is  
“ corruption; whose strength is the weakness  
“ of Ireland; and these men have the whole of  
“ the power and patronage of the country, as  
“ means to seduce and subdue the honesty and  
“ the spirit of her representatives in the legisla-  
“ ture. Such an extrinsic power, acting with  
“ uniform force, in a direction too frequently  
“ opposite to the true line of our obvious inter-  
“ ests, can be resisted with effect solely by una-  
“ nimity, decision, and spirit, in the people—  
“ qualities which may be exerted most legally,  
“ constitutionally, and efficaciously, by that  
“ great measure essential to the prosperity and

“freedom of Ireland—an equal representation  
 “of all the people in parliament,”\*

That the reform here professed was rather an ostensible than real object, exhibited for the purpose of uniting reformers with revolutionists, appears from a letter, addressed on the occasion to his friends in Belfast, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a lawyer of uncommonly high talents and industry, and one of the original framers of the institution, of which letter the following is an extract. “The foregoing  
 “contains my true and sincere opinion of the  
 “state of this country, so [far as in the present  
 “juncture it may be advisable to publish it.  
 “They certainly fall short of the truth, but  
 “truth itself must sometimes condescend to  
 “temporise: my unalterable opinion is, that  
 “the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England; I believe that influence  
 “will ever be extended while the connexion  
 “between the two countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that opinion is for the  
 “present too hardy, though a very little time  
 “may establish it universally, I have not made  
 “it a part of the resolutions. I have only proposed to set up a reformed parliament as a

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No 2. of the House of Lords.

“ barrier against that mischief, which every  
“ honest man that will open his eyes, must  
“ see, in every instance, overbears the interest  
“ of Ireland. I have not said one word that  
“ looks like a wish for separation, though I  
“ give it to you and your friends, as my most  
“ decided opinion, that such an event would  
“ be a regeneration to this country.”\*

The association was extended in Dublin and the northern counties, with industry and success. The latter was greatly promoted by the displeasure occasioned by the French war,—a ministerial measure adopted apparently without reason, and so highly condemned by many in the nation, as to add prodigiously to the number of malcontents in both the British kingdoms. The rapacious insolence of the soldiery, also, which had been very unwisely overlooked, or not sufficiently restrained, in the first years of this war, was certainly not well calculated for the promotion of affectionate sentiments toward administration, in the lower classes of the people in general throughout the kingdom—In the marches of troops, on change of quarters, the horses of the farmers and peasants, pressed for

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 2.

the carriage of baggage, were brought to unreasonable distances, and severely abused, unless money was given by their owners to procure better treatment. Sometimes the carts were lost, and various other inconveniences occurred.—Where they halted in their march, the soldiers dispersed themselves over the neighbourhood, seizing horses of which they had no need, merely to force the owners to release them by payment of money.—The accommodation of soldiers billeted, was also severely felt by numbers, who were exposed to it from their situation ; and great sums of money was extorted on this ground also.

Discontents rose high on account also of the militia bill, which enacted compulsory levies of soldiers for the internal defence of the kingdom. On a return of the names of the males in each district, of the military age, lots were drawn, and those on whom the chance fell, were obliged to enlist as soldiers for four years, to find substitutes, or pay fines. Some individuals, unable to pay, sustained the seizure and sale of their goods ; and some, for intemperate expressions of discontent, were committed to gaol, and harshly treated. To make the bur-

then bear more equally, subscriptions were proposed and adopted, to raise money for the enlisting of soldiers ; and these subscriptions were for the time, a heavy tax on peasants and citizens.

After a continued series of similar circumstances of violence and outrage, which our limits will not permit us to detail at present, the Lord Lieutenant issued his proclamation for disarming the inhabitants of the North of Ireland, on the 13th March 1796,\* and on the 21st of the same month, Mr. Grattan, after a speech, delivered with his usual force of talent and brilliant ability, moved for an enquiry into the causes which produced this proclamation; but his motion was unfortunately rejected.

The persecutions in the North, which commenced early during this awful crisis, were so flagrant, and the conduct of many of the magistrates so contrary to law, that applications

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\* An address of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant, was moved and carried in the legislature, for having issued this proclamation. In the debate on it, the great Lord Edward Fitzgerald arose, and said aloud in an angry tone,

“I give my most hearty disapprobation to this ; for I do think, that the Lord Lieutenant, and the majority of this house, are the worst men in the kingdom.”

were made to the court of King's Bench, for attachments against several of them, but a bill of indemnity prevented a judicial investigation of their conduct ; and thus they were screened from merited punishment. This total disregard of their grievances, and inattention to their complaints, added to the barbarous outrages afterwards committed by the military in the northern counties, very much exasperated the feelings of the suffering party. They resorted, for temporary relief, to private and secret lamentation. In this sad state, bordering on despair, every injured person sympathized with his neighbour in affliction, and their united resentments, like a raging flame, suppressed, but not extinguished, were the more likely to burst forth with sudden fury, and unexpected violence. It may not be impertinent to remark, that in all cases of popular commotion, an enquiry into the alleged grievances, ought to go hand in hand with the measures of rigour and coercion. These two principles are far from being incompatible, and any government acting upon them, must be certain of conciliating obedience and affection, respect and attachment.

The Earl of Moira, with that generous humanity, which has ever graced his noble character, brought the distresses of Ireland before the British House of Lords, on the 22d of March, 1796 ; when he gave a heart-rending description, in his native strain of elevation, of the savage cruelties practiced by the military against the people ; and offered at the moment, to produce at the bar, incontrovertible proof of his assertions. He concluded his able statement, by moving an address to the Sovereign, the principal purport of which, was, “ humbly hoping that his majesty might be “ graciously pleased to take into his paternal “ consideration, the disturbed state of Ire- “ land ; and to adopt such lenient measures, “ as might appear to his royal wisdom and “ benignity, best calculated to restore tran- “ quillity and excite affection.” But sad to tell, his Lordship was not more fortunate in the British House of Lords, than was Mr. Grattan the preceding March in the Irish House of Commons. Both motions had the same unlucky fate of rejection. On the following day, the 23d of March, Mr. Fox made a similar benevolent and patriotic effort, (and who is unacquainted with his powers ?) in the British

House of Commons, but with the like ill success. He concluded a lucid and animated speech, with the following pointed and emphatic quotation from Cicero, which I cannot resist inserting : “ *Carum esse civibus, bené de republicâ mereri, laudari, coli, diligere, gloriosum est : metui vero et in odio esse, invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum.*”

“ To be dear to one’s countrymen, to deserve well of the common weal, to be praised, to be respected, to be beloved, is glorious : but to be feared, and encompassed with hatred, is invidious, is detestable, is tottering, is ruinous.”

The appointment of general Sir Ralph Abercromby, on the 12th of Sept. 1796, to the chief command of the forces in Ireland, gave general satisfaction, and afforded a ray of hope to drooping despondency. The subsequent display of his eminent virtues, evinced the justice of favourable expectation. Having been quartered in Ireland, through most of his gradations of well merited promotion, he possessed a perfect local knowledge of the country ; and he now resolved in person to visit every district, and thus he made a tour of observation.



through the whole island. After a strict review of every object worthy of his attention, he published, on his return to Dublin, general orders to the several military commanders, wherein, after having reprobated the irregularities of the soldiery, he directed the necessary restraint for their disorderly conduct. These orders were issued from the Adjutant General's office, in Dublin, on the 26th of November, 1797.\*

After the publication of these orders, and the knowledge that the benevolent Scotchman had acquired in his general view of the country, he endeavoured in vain to impress the minds of those in power with his own well-founded opinion, that coercive measures, in the extent determined on, were by no means necessary in Ireland. Unwilling, therefore, to tarnish his military fame, or risque the loss of humane and manly character, by leading troops to scenes of cold-blooded slaughter and civil desolation ; sooner than sanction by his presence proceedings so abhorrent from his nature, he resigned the chief command of the army in Ireland. His departure was a sore-

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\* See Appendix.

misfortune to this unhappy nation ; and had any casualty detained him there, but a few months longer, it would have been providential, for when the insurrection had actually broken out, he could not so well have resigned the command ; and his dignified authority would have restrained the soldiery from the horrid excesses they afterwards committed. He was too good and to great a blessing for this ill-fated land to possess at that time ; he did all in his power to prevent the woeful calamities that followed ; his splendid exploits in Egypt have rendered his fame immortal ; and his death, though glorious, has left an aching pang in the bosom of every true lover of this distracted country :—may the olive branch which he waved in Ireland, be never forgotten among his unfading laurels !

A strong confirmation, if further proof were at all necessary, of the great discrimination of General Abercromby's comprehensive mind, is his marked selection of a dignified character with whom to share his confidence, as second in command, when going on the expedition to Egypt. His choice could not have fallen more judiciously than on Lord Hutchinson, whose brilliant achievements and splendid

triumphs have since so largely added to Irish fame, and adorned himself with merited honours. This nobleman appears to have rivalled his great friend as well in humanity as glory. Their opinions respecting Ireland, strictly coincided. Witness his lordship's well-known sentiment, of "I ABOMINATE THE TORTURE," delivered in the winter of 1798, in the Irish Parliament, in the debate on the bill of indemnity, for screening the violent proceedings of the sheriff of the county of Tipperary; and it is happy such a sentiment did not deprive him of command. The opposition of the entire Hutchinson family to oppressive measures, was conspicuous on this occasion; and their exertions were indefatigable for the maintenance of peace and order throughout the whole of the arduous period of disturbance. They all breathed the same sentiment of benevolence and humanity. The earl of Donoughmore exerted all his power and influence to throw open the gates of mercy to the wretched people, and his brother, the Hon. Francis Hely Hutchinson, who succeeded Judkin Fitzgerald as sheriff of the county of Tipperary, was eminent in support of abhorrence of the torture. In short, the affable demeanor, the

kind and conciliating manners of this entire family, fascinated the minds of the people, and thus prevented shocking scenes of dreadful devastation, wherever they possessed influence or had command, particularly in the counties of Tipperary, Cork, and Galway, much more effectually than any measures of violence or coercion could ever accomplish.

Can any thing be more convincing than this testimony, to shew of what inestimable value it is for any country to possess good men ; but especially for Ireland, where it is a prevalent system to treat inferiors with the utmost cruelty and contempt, as if they were a different and odious species of being ? If one family could effect so much good, by their affable and conciliating manners, is it not painful to reflect on the consequences of a contrary behaviour to a people, who, of all others in the world, are the most generous and open-hearted ; and want only the fostering hand of humanity, due encouragement, and a cultivation of their natural talents, to vie in excellence with any race of men on the globe.

Every man of a serious and feeling mind, must think it a very awful misfortune to be

born and reared in a country, where the great majority of the people are objects of hatred and detestation to most of the superior order. A person of high rank, entertaining such sentiments, of a community, must prove a horrible scourge to a nation. The balance of power may be placed in his hands, while his prejudice must inevitably prevent its impartial administration ; for it is the nature of prejudice, to warp and supersede all other affections, so far even as to pervert the fair dictates of moral truth, and of mild and generous humanity.

Not relying wholly on its force at home, the chiefs of the society made application to the French government ; and in April, 1796, an invasion of Ireland was promised by the latter for the subversion of the British power in Ireland, and the political disruption of this island from Britain. The offer was accepted, on condition that the invading army should act as auxiliaries under the direction and pay of the Society, which, on becoming possessed of the dominion, should be bound to re-imburse the whole expences of the armament.\*

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. Nos. 6 and 31.

The vigilance of government penetrated the design of internal hostility and external alliance; and as the existing laws were totally inadequate to stop the progress of the conspiracy, new powers were conceded by the legislature to the executive administration. In October, 1796, parliament suspended the law of Habeas Corpus, and thereby gave authority to imprison obnoxious persons without cause assigned, or definite period of trial. In the Spring of the same year, also, a temporary law, termed the Insurrection Act, had passed, levelled immediately against an irregular confederacy of men, who, under the name of Defenders, infested the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, and Kildare, despoiling in the night the inhabitants, who were not friendly to them, of their arms. By this act, the Lord Lieutenant, in council, was authorized to proclaim, on the requisition of seven of its magistrates, assembled at a sessions of the peace, any county or district thereof, as in a state of disturbance, and thereby to invest the magistrates with an extraordinary power of seizing, imprisoning, and sending aboard his majesty's fleet, or to Botany Bay, such persons as should be found at unlawful assemblies, or

otherwise acting so as to threaten the public tranquillity.

The operation of these temporary laws was forcibly felt in the latter part of this, and in the course of the following year. Considerable numbers of gentlemen of respectability, were arrested on private informations of their engagement in the conspiracy, and lodged in prison, many for a great length of time, without opportunity of trial. Many districts in the northern counties were proclaimed, and numbers of the lower classes of men, sent on board of the king's navy.

These acts of severity, apparently inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, were not without cause. A contest, or trial of strength, seems to have arisen between the existing government and the association, which of the two should overpower the other. Each vigorous measure, adopted on one side, excited another to counteract it on the opposite. To furnish themselves with arms, the lower classes, like the Defenders, assembled in parties in the night, and disarmed those whom they regarded as the adherents of government. To save the produce of the soil to their friends

in prison; and to testify their attachment to the gentlemen of their party, or those whom they imagined not hostile to their cause, they met in large bodies in the day, to dig out the potatoes and reap the corn of several individuals. The greatness of the numbers assembled on these occasions, much exceeding what the specified purposes required; (for in some instances, four or five thousand were said to be collected in one body)—their marching with music in military order, and their assembling on such other pretences as funerals and matches of football, gave cause to suspect that the real object of these meetings was to accustom the men to a readiness in repairing to appointed places of convention, to give confidence to their own party, and to intimidate their opponents. To frustrate the operations of the law, terror and bribery were employed with its agents. Various modes of persecution, were put in practice against magistrates who exerted themselves to arrest the members of the conspiracy, witnesses who appeared against them in courts of justice, and jurors who found them guilty; while the pecuniary subscriptions of the association were, partly applied to assist the families of its imprisoned mem-



bers, to bribe witnesses in trials, and to fee the most eminent pleaders of the law.

Acts of a violent and menacing nature; in some of the northern counties, particularly the stealing of gunpowder out of the royal stores in Belfast, are specified in a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and council, in which all magistrates, and loyal subjects, were strictly commanded to use their best endeavours for the prevention or punishment of such dangerous and treasonable proceedings; orders having been previously issued to the military officers to assist the civil in the execution of this duty. Notwithstanding the enforcement of this proclamation, the United Irish of Ulster would have obtained and employed the means of insurrection, if the French forces, embarked at Brest, for the invasion of Ireland, had effected their landing at Bantry-bay, where they arrived near the end of December in the same year. While the debarkation of the French army, stated at fifteen thousand in number, was prevented by a storm which divided the fleet, the exertions of the Society to second the invasion, were prevented by the receipt of two contrary pieces of intelligence from the French government, the one a mes-

sage in November, promising the arrival of succours immediately ; the other, a letter, in a few days after the messenger's departure, which was considered as authentic, representing the proposed expedition to be deferred until the ensuing Spring.\*

A continuation of outrages, directed systematically, provoked on the side of government, more strenuous exertions to suppress them. Authorized for a discretionary disposition of his troops, to disarm the malecontents and prevent insurrection, (by a letter, dated March the 3d, 1797, from the Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant,) General Lake, bearing the chief command in the northern district of the kingdom, issued on the 13th of that month, a proclamation, enjoining all persons, not empowered to keep arms by government, to surrender their arms and ammunition to the commanding officers in their several neighbourhoods, and promising to informers, inviolable secrecy, together with rewards to the full value of the stores of war discovered in consequence of their information. †

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 31. † Ibid. Nos. 8 and 9.

The troops were so disposed, as to search all suspected places for military stores, and to prevent unlawful assemblies, especially, in the night, after a certain hour, in which all persons found abroad, without authority, were liable to arrest and punishment: but the quantity of arms, thus collected, proving comparatively small, and the plans of the Society still remaining in force, whose exertions at the assizes, during the circuit in the succeeding month of April, so far frustrated the prosecutions of the crown, as to render the result rather an encouragement than the contrary, to the conspirators—measures of a still more forcible nature were demanded.

Another proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant, was issued on the 17th of the following month, declaring the efforts of the civil power to have been found inadequate for the preservation of the public peace; the most effectual orders to have been sent to the officers of his majesty's troops to employ their utmost power for the suppression of treasonable attempts; and the king's most gracious pardon to be tendered to all such (excepting persons guilty of certain specified crimes,) as on or before the twenty-fourth of June, should sur-

render to the magistrates, take the oath of allegiance, and, if bail should be required, enter into recognizance for their future good behaviour. A letter from Secretary Pelham to the Earl of Carhampton, chief commander of the troops, and orders from the Earl to these, to act independently of the civil power, followed the proclamation: and as the plan of each county was found (particularly by the informations of Nicholas Maguan, of Saintfield, in the county of Down,) to be arranged for a general insurrection in the North, which was to take place before the end of June, the most rigorous and summary modes of coercion were judged necessary.

The members of the established government, forced by the magnitude of the threatened evils, into a temporary violation of the political constitution, for its ultimate safety, authorized such modes of compulsion as must have wounded their own feelings. The houses and effects of those who produced not the arms, which by informations they were known or supposed to have in concealment, were consumed with fire by the troops, or otherwise destroyed; and many persons, to force a discovery, were put

to some species of torture, particularly that of the picket. The term of surrender and pardon, was, by proclamation, prolonged from the twenty-fourth of June, to the twenty-fourth of July; and such were the effects of the measures pursued, that, excepting a partial, unsupported, and short-lived commotion, near the mountains in the county of Down, the intended insurrection was prevented; great quantities of arms were collected from the malcontents, and order restored throughout Ulster. But, while by acts of the most cruel rigour, which forced many of its efficient members into prison, exile, or inaction, the designs of the union were at that time frustrated, and its plan so disorganized in the northern counties, that the inferior societies in general discontinued their meetings, and Ulster was far from being completely represented in the provincial committee; \* it was extending in the Southern and Western, with assiduity and zeal, its improved system of organization.—To form some idea of this extraordinary and amazing scheme, a short retrospective survey is requisite.

The organization of the Society of United Irishmen, which for some time was quite of a

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 14.

civil nature, is represented as having commenced in the Spring of 1792, and as having been completed in Ulster on the tenth of May, 1795. In the Autumn of the following year, when a reform of parliament, the ostensible with all, and with some the real object, was regarded as not otherwise attainable than by force, the association began to assume a military form; and in April, 1797, the number of men in Ulster alone, enrolled for insurrection, was; beside others doubtless ready to assist them, stated at nearly a hundred thousand, provided, some with fire-arms, others with pikes, a store of ammunition, and some cannon.\* The organization was reformed in August the same year; but to specify the several changes, appears unnecessary, and to give briefly the general outline of the system, sufficient.

The Association consisted of a multitude of Societies, linked closely together, and ascending in gradation, like the component parts of a pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union. The lowest or simple societies consisted each originally of thirty-six, afterwards at most of only twelve men, as nearly as pos-

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\* Appendix to the Report, &c. Nos. 2 and 31.

sible of the same neighbourhood, that they might be mutually under the inspection one of another. An assembly of five Secretaries, severally elected by five simple societies, formed a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate superintendence and management of these five societies. Ten delegates, elected one from each of ten lower baronial, composed an upper baronial committee, which in like manner directed the business of these ten lower committees. With the same superintendence over their constituent assemblies, delegates from the upper baronial, one deputed from each, formed in the counties, county committees, and in populous towns, district committees : and the provincial committees, one for each of the four provinces, were composed of delegates from the district and county committees, two from each, sometimes three, when the extent and population of the district seemed to require a more numerous representation. The supreme and uncontrouled command of the whole Association was committed to a general Executive Directory, composed of five persons, unknown to all excepting the four secretaries of the provincial committees ; for they were elected by ballot in these commit-

tees, the secretaries of which alone examined the ballots and notified the election to none except the persons themselves on whom it fell. The orders of this hidden directing power were conveyed through the whole organized body by not easily discoverable chains of communication. By one member only of the Directory were carried the mandates to one member of each provincial committees, by the latter severally to the secretaries of the district and county committees in the province, by these secretaries to those of the upper baronials, and thus downward through the lower baronial to the simple societies.

The military organization was grafted on the civil of this artfully framed union. The secretary of each of the simple societies was its non-commissioned officer, serjeant, or corporal, the delegates of five simple societies to a lower baronial committee, was commonly captain over these five, that is, of a company of sixty men; and the delegate of ten lower baronial to an upper or district committee, was generally colonel, or commander of a battalion of six hundred men, composed of the fifty simple societies, under the superintendence of this upper committee.



The Colonels of battallions in each county, sent in the names of three persons, to the Executive Directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them Adjutant-General of the county, whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the Colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officer of the revolutionary staff. They were required to inform themselves of, and report the state of the united regiments within their respective districts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges, and fords, the military positions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the executive every movement of the enemy (meaning the king's troops) to announce the first appearance of their allies, (meaning the French,) and immediately to collect their force.

To complete the scheme of warlike preparation, a military committee, instituted in the beginning of the year 1798, and appointed by the Directory, had its task assigned to contrive plans for the direction of the national force, either for the purposes of unaided rebellion, or co-operation with an invading French army, as occasion should require. Orders were issu-

ed that the members of the union should furnish themselves, where their circumstances allowed it, with fire-arms,—where not, with pikes. To form a pecuniary fund for the various expences of this great revolutionary machine, monthly subscriptions, according to the zeal and ability of the subscribers, were collected in the several Societies, and treasurers appointed by suffrage for their collection and disbursement.\*

From this fund were supplied the demands of the emissaries commissioned to extend the union. Of these, considerable numbers were dispatched into the southern and western counties, in the beginning and course of 1797, where, though many had been sworn into the union, little progress for the effectual promotion of the system had been made before the Autumn of 1796; and so little was made for some time after, that in May, 1797, at the eve of an intended insurrection, the strength of the association lay, exclusively of Ulster, chiefly in the metropolis and the neighbouring

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 31. Report of the secret committee of the House of Lords, 8vo. 1798, p. 6—9. See also the trials of Henry and John Sheares, John Mac Cann, Oliver Bond, and William Michael Byrne.

counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and King's county. This body of political missionaries, received instructions to work on the passions, the prejudices, and feelings of those to whom they should address themselves.

The lower classes were informed, that, by a revolution, which, in the establishment of a republican system of government, would give universal suffrage and equal rights, their condition would be exalted and rendered far more comfortable; that their industry was now too fatally checked by discontents, and stifled by a load of oppressions; that all improvements were thwarted by the covetousness of landlords, and the exactions of the clergy: and that their present government, did not sufficiently counteract these checks, but were satisfied with sacrificing the good of the nation to their own private interests.

Such certainly is the deplorable condition in which Ireland stands with respect to agriculture. The first means by which every civilized nation exerts the industry of its inhabitants, and provides for their wants, is thus neglected. That duty of providing food and

cloathing, with the other ordinary conveniences of life, which is known that every government owes to its subjects, is left undischarged. Instead of fulfilling the higher duties of advancing the nation to a state of true felicity, by education, virtue, and real piety, it stops short in the very threshold, by leaving them unprovided with the necessaries of life.

As from the exorbitant rents at which the lands of Ireland are in general set, on account of the great monopolies of land, entails, settlements, and bad customs, the payment of tithes, which are so unfortunately modified as to rest their weight almost exclusively on tillage, appears to the cottager, (exhausted by the demands of his landlord, and the services and douceurs, exacted by his landlord's agent,) an almost intolerable grievance; the agitators of revolution spoke most forcibly to the feelings of the peasantry on that subject, particularly in the counties of the South, where the discontent, on this account, is greatest, representing the establishment of a commonwealth to include, by necessary consequence, the total abolition of this hated species of rent.

A rent, exacted to support accustomed luxury in the sister country, by wresting to the last farthing; from the hard labour of a wretched and dependent tenantry, whose calamitous appearance, (enough to send horror to the soul of humanity,) is unnoticed in the general view of misery and distress which Ireland exhibits as a singular and melancholy spectacle to the world. Such are the men who detest the simple kind that cultivates their lands, and who calumniate, to other countries, the subdued and crawling peasant of their own, whose ears are to be gratified, whose hearts are cheerfully delighted, by a defamatory, rancorous and indiscriminate reviling of their countrymen; calumnies, that if directed against their fellow-natives, would excite horror and indignation in the breasts of the gentry of any other country in Europe or perhaps on the globe.

It has been too common a foible with some of this class of gentry to aim at equal splendor and expence with their superiors in fortune. Such men, before being aware of their situation, have incautiously expended largely above their incomes. A system of such careless dissipation, and extravagant squandering,

must destroy the most ample resources ; and men, long in the habit of indulging those propensities, and finding their means abridged, and themselves deeply involved, have still an aching reluctance to give up any share of their ideal consequence. Instead therefore of resorting to any rational plan of economy, they endeavour to get within the circle of some lord or great man, supposed to be possessed of extensive patronage. They court his smiles, and if their efforts are crowned with any degree of success, they instantly conclude, that all their misapplied expenditure must be amply reimbursed by this very often empty speculation. They count upon places and employments, of great emolument, for themselves and their children ; and thus they abandon all idea of the certain pursuits of industry, trade and honourable profession : they launch into the lottery of patronage, and yield up their spirit of independence, and all their actions, (out of the circle of their families) to the utter controul and directing will of their adopted patron. It is presumed, that any person acquainted with the state of Ireland, must perceive that this system has unfortunately been but too largely pursued, and too much acted upon ; and it is

also pretty notorious, that the country has been, for some time past, what is not unaptly termed *Lord-ridden*. Slaves to their superiors, but tyrants to their inferiors ; these needy adventurers become the tools of prevailing power. Justices of the peace are selected from this class, and these, by this degree of elevation, (certainly to them the station is an exalted one) think themselves raised to a level of equality with the most respectable gentlemen in the country. But their ignorance is so preposterous, and their behaviour so assuming, that men of education, talents and fortune, are induced to withhold themselves from a situation they would otherwise grace, as it might oblige them to confer with fellows with whom they would not by any means hold communion or keep company. Thus are the very men who ought to be the magistrates of the country, and who would cheerfully accept the office, were they to associate with proper companions in duty, deterred from holding commissions of the peace ; while the justice, and police of the community, is left to ignorant, presuming and intemperate upstarts, devoid of all qualification and endowment, except that alone, if it may be termed such, of unconditional submission and obedience to the controuling nod of

their boasted patrons. If they faithfully adhere to this, they may go all lengths in violence and outrage to raise their consequence, and enhance their estimation in striking terror into the multitude. These creatures have therefore the effrontery to push themselves forward on every occasion ; and, after a series of habitual acts of turpitude, whenever an opportunity offers itself, they become the scourges and the fire-brands of the country. It is much to be lamented, that there are but too many examples of this melancholy truth, and that, in too many instances, these wretches have been set on to commit flagrant acts of outrage, to answer the political purposes of their patrons, who shrink from appearing personally concerned in these deeds of shame. On such occasions, from behind the curtain, the hireling crew are sent out to riot on the public stage, and dreadful are the consequences that follow ; while the vile understrappers are utterly ignorant of the cause, and never question the motive of their subornation.

As the emissaries of the Union interested the feelings of the peasantry with respect to rents and tithes, so also they endeavoured to preju-



dice the opinions of the laity in general, against the hierarchy, and other parts of the ecclesiastical establishment. They represented, that, while the revenues of the Irish prelates amounted collectively to above eighty thousand pounds a year, besides immense sums levied as fines on the leases of their lands; and while the revenues of chapters, and parochial clergy, amounted to near a million of pounds annually, the vast expences of this establishment were useless for the purposes of religion, or the encouragement or support of literature; since preferments were given solely from temporal or political motives, without regard to moral character or literary merit; and since the religious offices of the church were performed for about sixty thousand pounds a year, by a number of curates, who labour in penury and consequent contempt, for salaries, which, compared to the revenues of the prelates, demonstrated a scandalous inequality, inversely proportionate to the utility of their employments.

Though the liberty of the press had been circumscribed much by the precautions of the legislature, means were found still to employ this engine to the augmentation of the popular

discontent and disposition to subvert the established government. Two papers, called the *Northern Star* and the *Press*, were printed in succession for that purpose, and industriously circulated. The former, instituted at Belfast, in the Summer of 1797, was not suppressed otherwise than simply by an act of military execution; a party of soldiers taking possession of the printing-office and destroying the types: the latter, established in Dublin toward the close of the same year, and afterwards, (in consequence of a new law,) published under the guidance of Mr. O'Connor, as the person responsible for its contents, who is now known to have been then a member of the Irish directory,\* was interdicted by another act of parliament, which has confined the liberty of printing and publishing within very narrow limits.

Another paper, the *Union Star*, appeared at regular periods, and was printed on one side of the paper to fit it for being pasted on walls, and frequently second editions were published of the same numbers. It chiefly consisted of names, and abusive characters, of persons sup-

\* See O'Connor's address to the Irish nation on the occasion.

posed to have been informers against United Irishmen, or active opposers of their designs; and to such lists were generally added the most furious exhortations to the populace to rise and take vengeance on their oppressors.\*

To shew the spirit of this paper, privately printed, and industriously circulated, the following extract may be sufficient: "Let the  
"indignation of man be raised against the  
"impious wretch who profanely assumes the  
"title of *reigning by the grace of God*, and  
"impudently tells the world *he can do no*  
"*wrong*! — Irishmen! Is granting a patent,  
"and offering premiums to murderers, to de-  
"populate your country, and take away your  
"properties, no wrong? Is the foreign despot  
"incapable of wrong, who sharpens the sword  
"that deprives you of life, and exposes your  
"children to poverty and all its consequent  
"calamities? Oh, man! or rather less, O  
"king! will the smothered groans of my  
"countrymen, who in thy name fill the in-  
"numerable dungeons you have made, for as-  
"serting their just rights, be considered no  
"wrong? Will enlightened Irishmen believe  
"you incapable of wrong, who offer up the

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 27.

"most amiable of mankind daily on the scaffold, or the gibbet, to thy insatiable ambition? Is burning the villages of what you call your people, and shooting the trembling sufferers, no wrong? Are the continual wars you engender and provoke to destroy mankind, no wrong? Go, impious blasphemer, and your hypocritical sorcerers, to the fate, justice, and liberty consign thee. Ere the grave embosoms thee, make one atonement for the vices of thy predecessors; resist not the claims of a people reduced to every misery; in thy name give back the properties that thy nation wrested from a suffering people; and let the descendents of those English intruders, restore to Irishmen their country, and to their country liberty: 'tis rather late to trifle; one fortunate breeze may do it; and then, woe to him who was a tyrant, or who is unjust!"

Such were the addresses and declarations, with which this paper was daily teeming. It particularly poured forth the distresses of the catholic body, and taught them to be more discontented with the existing government of the country. But this lesson had been long fully learnt: for no Roman province, no colo-

ny in the East or West, no dependency of ancient Lacedemon or Athens, no ally of modern France, were ever so keenly and systematically fleeced and pillaged than these unhappy people. Every thing was made a pretext for plunder. They struggled for liberty under Charles I. and were plundered. They struggled for royalty against the rebellion, and were plundered. They fought for James II. and were plundered. The robberies of the rebellion were legalized at the restoration. The robberies of the revolution were secured by a long and grievous train of pains, penalties, and disabilities, too weighty for any people to stir under. English adventurers, Scotch adventurers, Dutch adventurers, were let loose to fatten at their expence, and their fairest possessions were torn from the owners to enrich pimps, parasites, minions, generals, state-creditors and land-surveyors. The framers of the union, therefore, studied how to rouse them to a resistance of the humiliated and degraded condition to which they were reduced.

The catholics were soon roused ; for the poorest of them are neither so ignorant, as not to know that the punishments of their antec-

tors are entailed on their posterity, or so unfeeling as not to smart under a sense of such injustice.

There is a sense of right and wrong, of justice and injustice, which is implanted by nature in the breasts of the most uncivilized barbarians. "Ask the most untutored child, whether the seed which the farmer sows in the earth is his own, and whether the robber who assassinates him, acquires thereby a just title to it? All the legislators of the world will not give a better answer." Neither can any moral causes, altogether eradicate this principle of justice, which the Almighty seems so universally to have implanted amongst men.

The Irish Catholic is conscious of it, notwithstanding his humiliated condition; "notwithstanding the elephants of government are treading him to death." It exists, therefore, it flourishes "in spite of all the passions which combat it; in spite of those tyrants who would drown it in blood; in spite of those impostors who would extinguish it in superstition." From father to son, therefore, is carefully transmitted a knowledge of the estates which the family was formerly possessed

of. Each child, like a young Hanibal, seems sworn to die or recover them. Hence may be accounted in some measure, that inextinguishable heroic virtue, that most splendid of all qualities, which has long adorned the people of this country. Not that it proceeds either so much from a principle of recovering the estates, so cruelly wrested from them, but from that pride, that love of Country, and that warmth of temper, which so much distinguishes them.

They have in every contest, both foreign and domestic, proved themselves a brave and warlike people.

They may be slaughtered or dispersed in the field of battle, but their spirit can never be tamed.

Their minds are capable of being wound up to the highest pitch of fortitude ; and their bodies, are hardy, robust, and equal to the greatest fatigue. For this reason, the Irish have always succeeded to admiration in every country where military boldness has been looked for. They are gifted with that surprising character which disregards all obsta-

cles, or only considers them as so many incentives to exertion.

Of the "*Press*,"—which was conducted in a style of superior energy and elegance, and with less violence, yet with so much intemperance as to accelerate its ruin, together with a rigid restriction of news-paper publications ;—To give some idea of this paper, the following extract is presented :

" The rule of right, is a rule that in monarchies should never vary ; but in these kingdoms to preach up *royalism* is the best rule ; and the wisdom of Government protects those who embrace this right side of the question, while it punishes with equal rectitude, those who maintain that a *republic* is the only right form of Government :—  
 " Let us apply this rule to the Continent. France is not a nation of fools ; and some among them have as much sense (God forgive them) as \* \* \* \* ;—but no matter. The fools of France tell you that monarchy is a coat of arms, whose supporters are the church and the aristocracy—its crest, the bloody hand—and its motto, *Odi profanum vulgus* ; but that democracy, not possessing



“ these *rampant* wits in the *Ægis* of wisdom,  
“ whose *right rule* should govern the world.  
“ Now these are *two rules of right*, both ap-  
“ pearing on opposite principles—both pro-  
“ nounced to be the very best for the govern-  
“ ment of man, and each declared superior to  
“ the other in excellence ; yet a man shall be  
“ punished alternately for observing this or  
“ that, according to the air which he breathes.”

Such were the effects of the various engines of the Union, that before the end of the year 1797, the peasantry in the middle and southern counties of Ireland, were generally sworn into the conspiracy, and preparing for insurrection. When the liberty of publication in the newspapers, was, by new acts of parliament, so narrowly circumscribed, as no longer to admit United Irishmen to avail themselves of this most valuable channel of communication, hand-bills were privately printed and dispersed for the conveyance of instructions and exhortations. By this, and the oral modes of communication, instructions were conveyed through the whole body of the association to abstain from spirituous liquors, that the national consumption thereof might be diminished, and consequently the revenue and strength

of government, arising from that great subject of excise. In one of the circular hand-bills, a hint of an approaching necessity of insurrection, is followed by these words : “ In the preparative interim, let sobriety be national and unchangeable; by abstaining totally from the use of *spirituous liquors*, you will destroy the excise, which is the only branch of revenue remaining, whence is produced the *principal strength of government*; you will prevent the distillation of grain, which consumes near *double the quantity* that is otherwise used for the necessaries of life; you will consequently make bread one-third cheaper, benefit the community, and embarrass your enemies.”\* The leaders of the Union might have also had in view, the advantages of sobriety in its members for the promotion of its ends; as without it, neither the secrets entrusted to the lower classes, could be supposed so secure, nor their co-operation so regular and effectual when an order should be issued to take arms. This instruction was obeyed so well, that a striking change was quickly perceived in the generality of the common people, from drunkenness to sobriety—a change,

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 25.

which was by the government at first attributed to another cause, the fear of exposing themselves to the danger of arrest by the king's troops, who had orders to stop and imprison all persons after a certain hour of the night. However blameable the British Government may consider this instruction of the united chiefs, they ought not, in common policy, regret it; and should wish its effect permanent, since any defect of their revenue, thereby occasioned, would be amply supplied from other sources, in consequence of the habits of sobriety among the lower people, with which economy and industry have a natural connection.

Another deep instruction, given with a design to embarrass government, with respect to the public revenue, had great influence. This was, a caution against the purchase of the quit rents of the crown, which were to be sold for the raising of supplies; and against the acceptance of bank-notes, or paper money, in place of coin, in pecuniary dealings. With this design, were distributed hand-bills, contrived for the depreciation of government securities in general.—One of these, addressed in the name of the United Irishmen, to the landed and mortgaged interests of Ireland, runs in these words:

“Whereas it has been proposed by the *Chancel-*  
 “*lor of the Exchequer*, to sell the *quit rents* of  
 “the crown, in order to raise new supplies for  
 “the prosecution of this unjust, unnecessary,  
 “and ruinous war: now we, the United Irish-  
 “men, impelled by a sense of public duty,  
 “and sincere regard to the *rights of property*,  
 “think fit to give you this public caution,  
 “that no such fraudulent transaction, consu-  
 “ming, by anticipation, the resources and fu-  
 “ture revenues of the nation, will be sufficient  
 “to stand good in the event of a revolution  
 “and a free legislature; a fair and solid bar-  
 “gain must have the sanction of due authori-  
 “ty: but this, as well as every other loan or  
 “contract, now in agitation, is in itself invali-  
 “dated by the nefariousness of its object, and  
 “the incompetency of the present parliament  
 “to bind the nation by any act whatsoever, as  
 “it is notorious to the whole world, that it was  
 “named by the crown under the *terrors of*  
 “*martial law*; that there exists in it no free-  
 “dom of action—but that it is the bought base  
 “instrument of supporting an exterminating  
 “government and foreign domination. *After*  
 “*this, let the dupes blame themselves.*”

Of a hand-bill distributed with design to obstruct the circulation of bank-notes, and termed a "Caution to the Brethern," the following is an extract: "Those appointed by you to  
"superintend your interests, have from time to  
"time, sent you such advice or information, as  
"they were enabled, from reflection or enquiry, to offer for your advantage and the general good. Still actuated by the same principle  
"of zeal and fidelity, they deem it their duty  
"to caution you against the immense quantity  
"of bank-notes, which government is fabricating without bounds. We need not tell  
"you, that the value of any bank-note rests  
"upon the credit of him who issues it. And,  
"in our opinion, the issuer of this paper, is a  
"bankrupt, who in all likelihood, must shortly shut up and *run away*. The present convenience of circulation, will be but poor  
"amends for the subsequent beggary and ruin  
"it will bring on the holders; for you know  
"that it will be waste-paper, and must stop  
"somewhere, as soon as there is a *burst*, and  
"that the possessor (*God help him*) will be  
"robbed of so much property as he has taken  
"it for."<sup>222</sup>

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\* Appendix to the Report, &c. No. 22.

In consequence of this monition, the members of the Union, and those who were influenced by them, declined the acceptance of this paper money, and great inconveniencē was felt in pecuniary transactions ; but the circulation was forced, for the tender of bank-notes amounted to legal payment, the rejection of which cancelled the debt ; and those who refused to part with their goods for money of this description, were liable to be imprisoned, or heavily amerced by the quartering of soldiers on their houses.

Hand-bills also were employed to assist the emissaries in attempts to seduce the army— attempts which had commenced so early as the year 1792, but which were, by the active circumspection of government, particularly that most wise measure of augmenting the pay of the military, rendered abortive. Of one of these distributed papers, signed *Shamroc* dated the 27th of March, 1798, and addressed from Westmeath to the soldiers of Ireland, calculated to interest the feelings of these men, the following is an extract. “ My countrymen, “ what can you say when you hear of scenes “ of blood acting on the spot where your native hamlets once stood, but now no more :

“ their owners, your friends, either sent to  
“ seek repose in the grave, by the hands of these  
“ villainous Orange murderers, or immured  
“ in the damp and dreary dungeons of the  
“ bastiles of this country : pining in chill des-  
“ pondency, waiting for a trial seldom obtain-  
“ ed, and when obtained, acquitted, after  
“ years of dreary solitary confinement ! Some  
“ hurried on board prison-ships—some actually  
“ transported to the settlements on the coast of  
“ Africa—others sent to serve in the West In-  
“ dies, certain victims to the climate, or left  
“ to rot, chained in the hold of a filthy coast-  
“ ing vessel ! Your wives despoiled to gratify  
“ the insatiable lust of these ravishers !—And  
“ these scenes, my countrymen, suffered to go  
“ unpunished by those in power, whom you  
“ protect ; to whose frowns, your array adds  
“ terror ; to whom you give your support :  
“ for unless you please, they vanish ; without  
“ your protection these despots fall—these de-  
“ solators, that each day refine on such bloody,  
“ deeds, would perish, and your country be  
“ free. My brave countrymen ! do not let  
“ the world call us dastards : no, let us shew  
“ the world we are men, and, above all, that

“we are Irishmen. Let every man among  
 “you feel the injuries your country, your-  
 “selves have suffered ; the insults you have  
 “received, the stripes that have been dealt with  
 “an unmerciful hand on those brave comrades  
 “who dared to think and feel for their coun-  
 “try—If you do, the glorious work will be  
 “complete, and in the union of the citizen and  
 “and his brave fellow-soldier, the world (hith-  
 “erto taught to look down upon us with con-  
 “tempt) will see that we can emancipate our  
 “country ; we will convince surrounding  
 “nations, that Irish soldiers have avowed and  
 “adopted a maxim they will maintain, or per-  
 “ish—namely, *that every man should be a sol-  
 “dier in defence of his liberty, but none to take  
 “away the liberty of others.*” \*

While every engine of internal opposition  
 against government was put in motion, the Irish  
 Directory maintained a constant intercourse  
 with the French, whose aid for the accom-  
 plishment of the revolution was earnestly soli-  
 cited. After several more early communica-  
 tions between the leading members of the Union  
 and those of the French government, by the

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 8



medium of some Irish fugitives at Paris, a formal intimation, in 1796, as already mentioned, was given by one of those fugitives, supposed to be Theobald Wolfe Tone, that, on a representation of the state affairs, the French Directory had come to a resolution to send a force into Ireland, for the purpose of co-operating with that of the conspirators. Acquiescing in this proposal, after an extraordinary meeting for its consideration, the chiefs of the conspiracy sent with this advice two messengers, said to be Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Mr. O'Connor, who went by Hamburg to Switzerland, where, near the French frontier, they met Hoche the French general, and is thought to have there concerted with him the plan of operation. In the October of the same year, an accredited minister arrived in Ireland from France, announcing the design of invasion with an army of fifteen thousand men, which was attempted near the end of the following December, in the abortive expedition to the Bay of Bantry. To solicit the assistance of another armament from France, which had been expected after the failure of the first, a confidential agent, named Lewins, was deputed, who, leaving London in March, 1797, and passing through Ham-

burgh, arrived about the end of May, in Paris, where he afterwards remained as the ambassador of the Irish Union to the French Directory.

From a fear that a premature insurrection, unaided from abroad, the suppression of which might ruin their scheme, should be forced by the vigorous measures, already related, adopted by government in the province of Ulster—a most confidential member of the Directory, Doctor William James M'Nevin, who had acted as the Secretary of this ruling committee, was, at the end of June, in the same year, sent with orders to press the French government, with redoubled earnestness, for immediate aid. Meeting at Hamburg, with an agent of the French republic, and finding some difficulty in the procuring of a passport, M'Nevin transmitted a memorial by this agent to Paris, where he himself afterwards delivered a second, having obtained permission to proceed on his journey. In the former of these memoirs, were made a statement of the condition of the United Irish, and of the kingdom in general, for the reception of the French auxiliaries; a promise of reimbursement to the French government of its expences in the emancipation of Ireland; and a demand of a body of troops not exceeding ten thousand men, nor falling short of five

thousand, with artillery, ammunition, and arms, for the supply of the United Army. In the letter was adduced every argument which the writer conceived for the hastening of the expedition. It appears also, that an attempt was made at the same time, to procure the assistance of such Irish officers of note as were then in foreign service, as might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the service of the Union.\* The assistance, however, of a military force was conceded, and an army much greater than had been requested, consisting of fifteen thousand men, was embarked for this purpose in a Dutch fleet at the Texel, under the command of General Daendells; but the fear of the British navy, superior in strength, occasioned a sudden debarkation of these troops; and when, contrary to the judgment of its Admiral, this armament was obliged to sail, at the instance of the French Directory, it was totally defeated on the eleventh of October, 1797, by a squadron of British vessels under the command of Lord Viscount Duncan.

Still, after this disappointment, hopes of new succours from France were sedulously encour-

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 31.

raged, and the members of the Union admonished to be in a state of preparation to receive them. In February, 1798, instructions in detail were issued from the military committee to the adjutant-generals, concerning the modes of preparing for open warfare against government, and to the several regiments concerning their arms and appointments.—To extend the organization, to augment the military stores, and to add in every way to the strength of the conspiracy, continued to be the immediate object of its partisans till the arrival of their allies.

But while on one side, the chiefs of the United Irish proceeded in their plans, with a resolution to avoid, if possible, an insurrection, till, by the landing of the French auxiliaries, or some other favourable event, their prospect of success might be nearly certain, or highly probable, the government, on the other, was determined to disorganize their system, if possible, and to destroy the strength of the conspiracy, before such an event should occur. After the proclaiming of many districts in the southern and midland counties, the imprisonment and transportation of some thousands of persons, and other acts of power, a very severe

wound was inflicted on the union by the arrest of the thirteen members composing the Provincial Committee of Leinster, with other principals of the conspiracy, at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond in Dublin, on the 12th of March. This arrest was grounded on the information of Thomas Reynolds, a Roman catholic gentleman, of a place called Kilkea-castle, in the county of Kildare, colonel of an United Irish regiment, treasurer of the county of Kildare, and provincial delegate for Leinster, who having travelled in the same carriage with William Cope, of Merrion-square, in Dublin, about the twenty fifth of the preceding month, had been induced by the arguments of that gentleman, and the picture which he drew of the horrors of a revolutionary war in Ireland, to disclose, for the use of government, what he knew of the conspiracy—pretending, however, to receive, from time to time, his information from another person, not to be himself the original informer.—In this arrest were included the most able and active leaders of the union—Thomas Addis Emmet, a counsellor of great distinction, Arthur O'Connor, Doct. William James M'Nevin, and Oliver Bond. The vacancies made in the Directory, and elsewhere, by the seizure of these and other

persons, to the number of three hundred, were instantly filled with men equally determined in separating the two Kingdoms.

To prevent a despondency among the members of the Union, on this occasion, a handbill, dated on St. Patrick's day, the seventeenth of March, was distributed, of which the following is an extract :

“ For us, the keen but momentary anxiety,  
“ occasioned by the situation of our invaluable friends, subsided, on learning all the circumstances of the case, into a calm tranquillity, a consoling conviction of mind, that they are as safe as innocence can make them now ; and to these sentiments, were quickly added a redoubled energy, a tenfold activity of exertion, which has already produced the happiest effect. *The organization of the capital is perfect.* No vacancies existing ; arrangements have been made, and are still making, to secure for our oppressed brethren, whose trials approach, the benefit of legal defence ; and the sentinels whom you have appointed to watch over your interests, stand firm to their posts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice,

self in acts of open violence and rebellion; and that in consequence thereof, the most direct and positive orders had been issued to the officers commanding his majesty's forces, to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision, for the immediate suppression of this conspiracy, and for the disarming of all suspected persons, by the most summary and effectual measures.

Immediately after this, all Ireland was put under martial law, and the military sent out at free quarters in all parts of the Kingdom. What hardships, what calamity, what misery must not the wretched people suffer, on whom were let loose such a body, as the soldiery then in Ireland, are described to be, in the general orders before alluded to of General Abercromby.\*

They became masters of every house in the country, the real owners were obliged to procure them every necessary they thought proper to demand; and, as their will was then the only law, and a very imperious and tyrannical law it was, the people dare not, except at the

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. Nos. 36 and 37.

risk of their lives, complain of any outrage or brutality of which their savage disposition prompted them to be guilty. The inevitable consequence was, that such horrid acts were perpetrated, such shocking scenes were exhibited, as must rouse the indignation and provoke the abhorrence of all not dead to humane feeling, or not barbarised by unnatural hatred of their fellow-creatures !

The troops were quartered on the houses of all suspected persons, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners, whose pecuniary circumstances were generally injured and ruined by the maintenance of the soldiery, and the waste which was otherwise made of their effects. Great numbers of houses, with their furniture, were burned ; thousands of the common people, and many even in circumstances of life far superior to that class, particularly in the city of Dublin, were scourged, some picketed, or otherwise put to pain, to force a confession of concealed arms or plots. Some irregularities may naturally be supposed also committed by common soldiers, without the approbation or knowledge of their officers, in such a state of affairs,



and many acts of severity by persons not in the regular troops—some from an unfeigned, and others from an affected zeal for the service of the crown. These various vexations amounted on the whole to such a mass of disquietude and distress, that the exhortations of the chiefs to bear their evils with steady patience, until an opportunity of successful insurrection should occur, proved vain with the lower classes. Such numbers of these, in the months of April and May, were surrendering their arms, and taking the oath of allegiance, particularly in the counties of Kildare and Tipperary, which were by these means in great measure disorganized, that the chiefs of the Union, fearing a total derangement of their scheme, and destruction of their force, before a favourable opportunity of revolt should arrive, came to a determination to try their strength against government, without the assistance of their French allies, and a plan for the purpose was accordingly digested by the military committee.

To authorize the general burning of houses and furniture, the wisdom of administration may have seen as good reason as for other acts of severity. These burnings doubtless caused no small terror and consternation to the revo-

lutionists, but they caused also a loss to the community at large, rendered many quite desperate who were deprived of all, and augmented the violence of hatred in those among whom these houseless people took refuge. The destruction of corn and other provisions, of which incredible quantities were consumed by fire, together with houses, was, in the opinion of the wise and moderate, worse than impolitic; and its effects were felt in dearth and famine for two years after. Probably in this, as in other cases, the lower actors in the political scene, sometimes exceeded the limits within which the wisdom of administration would have confined them, if that had been practicable, after these had once been vested with authority. Some of the lowest actors were in fact ready enough in other cases to exceed such limits. Men imprisoned on suspicion, or private information, were sometimes half-hanged, (as the act was termed,) or strangled almost to death, before their guilt or innocence could be ascertained, by such men as the upstart magistrates, and inferior officers of the army, without the knowledge, as is supposed, of government. Reflecting loyalists of humanity were much concerned at the permission,

or impunity of such acts, which tended so strongly to confirm the prejudices already so laboriously excited by the emissaries of freedom.

Among the causes which, in the troubled interval of time, previous to the grand insurrection, contributed to the general uneasiness, were the insults practised by pretended zealots, to the annoyance of the truest loyalists as well as malcontents, on persons who wore their hair short, or happened to have any part of their apparel of a green colour, both of which were considered as emblems of a republican, or of a revolutionary spirit. Short unpowdered hair had been affected by persons in Britain, supposed to be republicans ; yet the same was also worn by many loyalists for convenience. \* The term "*croppy*," however, was adopted in Ireland to signify a revolutionist, or enemy to the established government. Any person having their hair cut short, (and therefore called a *croppy*, by which appellation the soldiery designated an united Irishman,) on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was im-

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\* Short hair, about which so senseless a bustle was made, was found so convenient, that it was generally adopted after the rebellion, even by those who had instigated outrages on account of it.

mediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen, or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out, amidst the acclamations of the merciless torturers ; and to the view of vast numbers of people, who generally crowded about the guard-house door, attracted by the afflicted cries of the tormented. Many of those, persecuted in this manner, experienced additional anguish from the melted pitch trickling into their eyes. This afforded a rare addition of enjoyment to these keen sportsmen, who reiterated their horrid yells of exultation on the repetition of the several accidents to which their game was liable upon being turned out ; for, in the confusion and hurry of escaping from the ferocious hands of these more than savage barbarians, the blinded victims frequently fell, or inadvertently dashed their heads against the walls in their way. The pain of disengaging this pitched cap from the head must be next to intolerable. The hair

was often torn out by the roots, and not unfrequently parts of the skin were so scalded or blistered, as to adhere and come off along with it. The terror and dismay that these outrages occasioned are inconceivable. Moistened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair cut close, and then set on fire; some, while shearing for this purpose, had the tips of their ears snipt off; sometimes an entire ear, and often both ears were completely cut off; and many lost part of their noses during the like preparation. But, strange to tell, these atrocities were publicly practised without the least reserve in open day, and no magistrate or officer ever interfered, but shamefully connived at this extraordinary mode of quieting the people!—Some of the miserable sufferers, on these shocking occasions, or some of their relations or friends, actuated by a principle of retaliation, if not of revenge, cut short the hair of several persons whom they either considered as enemies, or suspected of having pointed them out as objects for such desperate treatment. This was done with a view that those active citizens should fall in for a little experience of the like discipline, or to make the fashion of short hair so general, that it might no longer

be a mark of party distinction. Females were also exposed to the grossest insults from these military ruffians. Many women had their petticoats, handkerchiefs, caps, ribbons, and all parts of their dress that exhibited a shade of green (considered the national colour of Ireland) torn off, and their ears assailed by the most vile and indecent ribaldry. This was a circumstance so unforeseen, and of course so little provided against, that many women of enthusiastic loyalty, suffered outrage in this manner. Some of these ladies would not on any account have worn any thing which they could even imagine partook in any degree of *troppism*. They were, however, unwarily involved, until undeceived by these *gentle hints* from these kind guardians of allegiance.

That those who were most active to commit these outrages, or to instigate others to the commission of them, were not the best friends of government, no one can doubt. Their conduct, whatever may have been their motives, was evidently adapted to augment the number and rage of the malcontents, which, in concurrence with other circumstances, might have produced very fatal effects: besides, that in the hour of danger, when the grand

insurrection took place, and government stood in need of the most vigorous exertions of its friends, most of these agitators of insult stood aloof, and the rest, so far as general experience and information extends, were very shy in their movements against the insurgents, and cautious of their personal safety; a conduct which implied either a defect of courage or of loyalty.

By the system of secret accusation and espionage, necessarily adopted, with other extraordinary measures, in this dangerous crisis, government unavoidably made ample room for the exertions of private malice. Magistrates and military officers, were empowered to receive informations, to keep the names of the informers profoundly secret, and to proceed against the accused according to discretion.

Of the underling order of magistrates, many pretended to receive information, which they had not received, for the indulgence of private malice against individuals;—but some of the gentlemen invested with these new powers, were led into grievous errors by false informers, whose names notwithstanding have never been divulged. One instance deserves to be men-

tioned, as it has been already made public in the newspapers, and has given cause for a debate in parliament. Thomas Fitzgerald, high sheriff of Tipperary, seized at Clonmel, a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neighbours, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of torture and laceration could hardly be expected.\* In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Mr. Wright, against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudices ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was condemned to pay five hundred pounds to his prosecutor. Many other actions of damage, from all quarters of the kingdom, on similar grounds, would have been commenced, if the

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\* A letter, of a perfectly innocent nature, written in the French language, was found in the pocket of this unfortunate gentleman, which this magistrate, whose want of knowledge of the French language, hastily considered as a sufficient proof of guilt, to confirm him in so lamentable an error and outrage.



parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings, by an act of indemnity, for all errors committed by the magistrates from supposed zeal for the public service. Since the rebellion, a pamphlet has appeared, stiled, "James's narrative of the tortures and executions of upwards of two hundred persons, among whom are named seventeen respectable gentlemen, who fell victims to the precipitancy or misinformation of this officer of justice; in which their innocence, and the iniquity of the proceedings against them, are indubitably and clearly proved." This publication records the many atrocious cruelties committed by a single individual, as an instance of the abuse of power, delegated by the members of administration, to a multitude of inferior actors, in a time of lamentable distraction.

From this period forward, the people suffered most by the infliction of all kinds of torture; for, in the several towns and villages, a magistrate started up, eager for the glorious distinction of outstripping the above-mentioned Fitzgerald and all others like him, each by his own superior deeds of death, deflagration, and torture! But it is to be observed, that none of these men had ever before possessed either talents or respectability sufficient, to entitle him

to take a leading part ; yet if burning houses, whipping, and '*half-hanging*' numbers, hanging some '*all out*,' and shooting others, with attendant atrocities, constitute the characteristic of loyal and good magistrates, they must be allowed strong claims to eminence.

Great as the apprehensions from Orangemen had been before, among the people, they were now multiplied ten-fold, and aggravated terror led them in numbers to be sworn United Irishmen, in order to counteract the supposed plan of their rumoured extermination. The fears of the people became so great, at length, that they forsook their houses in the night, and slept, (if under such circumstances they could sleep) in the ditches, and the women were even delivered in that exposed condition ! These facts were notorious at the time, and had the government and magistrates of the country, been actuated by the feelings that humanity naturally excites on such occasions, they might with very little trouble, have convinced the deluded populace of the fallacy of such reports, and promised them public protection.

In general, however, the fact was otherwise. The melancholy situation of the people was

regarded with the utmost indifference; few individuals felt any concern, or gave themselves any trouble about what they thought; and no effort, whatever, was made to allay their apprehensions, or at all to undeceive them. Their minds were left to the operation of their fears, to dissipate which, if any pains had been taken, it is certain that these horrid conceptions entertained of Orangemen, could never have taken such strong hold of their frightened imaginations, and that violence would have been repressed in its origin.

This circumstance, of absence from the houses, very generally prevailed through the country, although there were the strictest orders forbidding it. This was occasioned at first, as was before observed, from apprehensions of the Orangemen, but afterwards proceeded from the actual experience of torture by the people, from the magistrates, and military. Some, too, abandoned their houses for fear of being whipped, if, on being apprehended, confessions satisfactory to the magistrates could either be given or extorted, and this infliction many persons seemed to fear more than death itself. Many unfortunate men, who were taken in their own houses, were strung up as it were to

be hanged, but were let down now and then, to try if strangulation would oblige them to become informers. After these, and the like experiments, several persons languished for some time, and at length perished in consequence of them. Smiths and carpenters, whose assistance was considered indispensable in the fabrication of pikes, were pointed out, on evidence of their trades, as the first and fittest objects of torture. But the sagacity of some magistrates, became at length so acute, from habit and exercise, that they *discerned* an Uprighted Irishman even at the first glance; and their zeal never suffered any person, whom they deigned to honour with such distinction, to pass off without convincing proof of their attention. The two following instances are selected from "An account of the late rebellion," by the respectable Mr. Allender, an inhabitant of Ross.

"I now heard of many punishments of suspected persons, both by flogging and strangulation, being put into execution in the barrack-yard, (in Ross) to extort confession of guilt. There were two of these victims brought from the barrack to the court-house, to undergo a repetition of former punish-

ments. One of them of the name of Driscoll, was found in Camlin-wood, near Ross, where he said, he generally wandered as a hermit. Upon him were found two Roman catholic prayer-books, with which it was supposed he administered oaths of disloyalty. He had been strangled *three times*, and flogged *four times* during confinement, but to no purpose! His fellow-sufferer, was one Fitzpatrick, of Dunganstown, near Sutton's parish. This man had been for many years a sailor in the service of his king, but long utterly disqualified to follow that occupation, by reason of an inveterate scurvy in his legs. He therefore commenced abecedarian, near Sutton's parish. It happened that a magistrate, who was a yeoman, and others of his corps, passed by his noisy mansion, which was no other than a little thatched stable, that like a bee-hive, proclaimed the industry of its inhabitants. The magistrate entered, followed by the other yeomen. "Here is a man," says the magistrate, speaking of the master, "who I presume, can have no objection to take the oath of allegiance.—What do you say? Mr. teacher!" "*O dar a leoursa,*" (i. e. by this book) I will take it.

“ Sir, and thank you for bringing it to me.”

“ So saying, he took the book, which the magistrate held forth, and not only took the oath with the most cordial emphasis, but added another, expressive of his loyalty at all times. Upon this the magistrate regarded him with a look of dry humour, and observed, that *this must be a loyal man indeed.*

“ Well then, my loyal friend, I suppose you will readily swear to all the pikes, and to the owners and possessors of them, of which you have any knowledge ?” The man swore he had no certain knowledge of the kind ; and that he never saw a rebel’s pike in his life, or a pike of any kind since the rebellion. “ Then,” says the magistrate, “ you shall swear that you will, to the utmost of your future knowledge or information, this way, give, in the best manner you can, all such information to a lawful magistrate, or other officer in his majesty’s service.” “ No, Sir” answered Fitzpatrick, “ I will not swear that : I will bring no man’s blood on my head, and if I do inform, who will support and protect me, when I have lost all my scholars, and my neighbours turn upon me ?”—Upon this he was immediately apprehended, and escorted to Ross : he was not strangled, however.

“ but flogged with great severity; and it was  
“ not with dry eyes, that I saw the punishment  
“ inflicted on this humble pioneer of literature.  
“ About a month after the battle, both these  
“ men were tried before General Cowley, and  
“ matters appearing no farther against them  
“ than I have stated, they were liberated from  
“ a close and filthy confinement. The General  
“ presented both with a small sum of money,  
“ expressing a good natured concern,  
“ that he could not give them any greater  
“ pecuniary assistance. He also gave them  
“ written protections, expressive of their being  
“ peaceably disposed. I never once heard an  
“ authentic account of any immediate good  
“ effect produced by these punishments.  
“ However, it is most certain, that the severities  
“ in general, served to accelerate the rebellion,  
“ and thereby, very considerably to  
“ weaken its progress.”

Many innocent men were thus taken up, while peaceably engaged in their own private concerns, walking along the road, or passing through the market in the several towns, without any previous accusation, but in consequence of military whim, or the caprice of magisterial loyalty; and those who had been

at market, and were passed by unnoticed, had the news of a public exhibition to bring home, for the unfortunate victims thus seized upon, were instantly subjected, at least, to the torture of public whipping. People of timid dispositions, therefore, avoided going to market, fearing that they might be forced to display the like spectacle. Provisions, of course, became dear, for want of the usual supply in the market towns; and the military, to redress this evil, went out into the country, and brought in what they wanted, at what price they pleased; the owners thinking themselves well treated, if they got but a tenth of the value of their goods; and in case of a second visit, happy if they escaped unhurt, without any payment, which, however, was not always the case; and thus were the minds of the people brought to admit such powerful impressions of terror, that death itself was sometimes the consequence. The following is a strong instance of this melancholy fact, related by the Rev. Mr. Gordon :—

“ On the morning of the 23d of May, a labouring man, named Dennis M'Daniel, came to my house with looks of the utmost consternation and dismay, and confessed to



“ me, that he had taken the United Irish-  
“ man’s oath, and had paid for a pike, (with  
“ which he had not yet been furnished) nine-  
“ teen-pence halfpenny, to one Kilty a smith,  
“ who had administered the oath to him and  
“ others. While I sent my eldest son, who  
“ was a lieutenant of yeomanry, to arrest Kil-  
“ ty, I exhorted M’Daniel to surrender him-  
“ self to a magistrate, and make his confes-  
“ sion ; but this he positively refused, saying  
“ that he should, in that case, be lashed, to  
“ make him produce a pike, which he had not,  
“ and to confess what he knew not. I then  
“ advised him, as the only alternative, to re-  
“ main quietly at home, promising that if he  
“ should be arrested on the information of  
“ others, I would represent his case to the  
“ magistrates. He took my advice, but the  
“ fear of arrest and lashing, had so taken pos-  
“ session of his thoughts, that he could nei-  
“ ther eat nor sleep ; and on the morning of  
“ the 25th, he fell on his face and expired in a  
“ little grove near my house.”

These disorders, increased with the alarm of the approaching insurrection, which the chiefs of the Union, seeing its force declining and in danger of being destroyed, by the vigorous

measures of government, appointed to commence on the twenty-third of May, without waiting for French auxiliaries, lest, before that aid should arrive, their system should be so disorganized as to be incapable of any promising effort. Among the precautions, taken on this occasion, by the members of government, who were fully informed of the intended revolt, was the augmentation of the regulars, and yeomanry, to thirty five thousand men.

These yeomen had begun to be embodied in October, in the year 1796, in a kind of independent companies, each composed of about fifty men, mostly cavalry, with a much smaller body of infantry attached to them, and each generally commanded by a captain, and two lieutenants. The infantry were armed like those of the regular army, but the cavalry were furnished with only one pistol and a sword each, excepting a few who had carbines. In the formation of the companies or corps of yeomen, to appoint the far greater part of them cavalry, was an error, as the event clearly proved ; for in the insurrection which ensued, the yeoman infantry supported by regular troops, fought steadily against the foe : while

the horsemen, from the nature of the country, uneven with hills, and every where intersected with ditches—their want of proper subordination and discipline, and the facility of escape, were of little use except for patrols or expresses, though their horses were superior to those of the regular cavalry in the traversing of ditches and fields. If these troops had been habituated to dismount, and engage on foot, with carbines, their service might have been of considerable effect; but, as the matter was, they could hardly ever be brought to a charge on the Irish, or to make a retreat with regularity.

The cause of this error in the institution of armed yeomen, of the appointment of mostly horsemen instead of infantry, so little efficacious for the end proposed, and so oppressive to individuals of the poorer sort, who were obliged to furnish horses at their own expence, and maintain them without much assistance of pay, was by some supposed to be the jealousy of government, who suspected a general disaffection of the people, and feared to give sanction to such a military establishment, as, like the old volunteers, might become a dangerous engine of popular demands, under the influ-

ence of patriotic men. But the protestants of Ireland in general are too apprehensive of the of the hostile determination of the catholics against them, ever fully to coalesce with that body against government ; so that, with few exceptions, if the real sentiments of this description of people had been known, administration might have reposed the fullest confidence in them. In that case the difference of pay to cavalry and foot-men, might have been saved, and the insurrection probably stifled in its commencement, or at least much more speedily suppressed.

A necessary precaution, was, the arresting of several principals of the conspiracy. Among the persons apprehended at this critical time, was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had escaped the arrest made at Oliver Bond's house, on the twelfth of March. This nobleman had served in his majesty's army, where he had been highly esteemed for his courage and military conduct, his honour, humanity, and candor ;

He was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of revolutionary commotions, being a man of daring courage, a most active spirit, considerable abilities of mind, and being of a family highly respected for its

ancient greatness. In consequence of a proclamation issued on the eleventh of May, accompanied with a promise of a thousand pounds reward for his apprehension, he was seized on the nineteenth, in the house of Nicholas Murphy, a merchant in Thomas-street, Dublin, by William Bellingham Swan, a most active magistrate, town-major Sirr, and captain Ryan, with a company of soldiers.

But his Lordship made so desperate a defence, with no other arms than a dagger, that Swan was wounded, and Ryan, and two of his Company, died of their wounds eleven days after. Lord Edward himself, expired in great agony, on the third of the following month, from the effects of this furious conflict, as he had been wounded in the shoulder by the shot of a pistol from major Sirr.

On the nineteenth and twenty-first of May, several other arrests were made, and among the arrested, were Henry and John Sheares, brothers, natives of Cork, men of great abilities, and lawyers, who made a visit to Paris in 1792, where they had imbibed very deeply revolutionary ideas; had, on their return to Ireland, been active in the united conspiracy, and had,

as there is good reason to believe, at last been raised to the fatal eminence of the Directorial Committee. From their belief of his being an United Irishman—a belief doubtless impressed by some dextrous management on his part, and the hope of his co-operation in the business—they confided the secret of the time and plan of the insurrection to Captain Armstrong, of the King's County militia, who had procured an introduction to them through the medium of *Mr. Patrick Byrne*, bookseller of Grafton-street, Dublin. The intelligence occasionally received by this officer, who had procured his introduction for the service of government, was regularly conveyed to the Lord Lieutenant. In the house of Henry Sheares, at the time of his arrest, and in the hand-writing of John, was found a manifesto evidently intended for publication after the capital should be in possession of the conspirators. In this were expressed sentiments, contrary, as there is every reason to believe, to the natural disposition of these gentlemen; but, in the poet's phrase, "to shut the gates of mercy on mankind,"\*

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\* Gray's Elegy in a Country Church-yard.

may be a maxim with revolutionists ; and, in fact, the severe and terrible measures to which government, for the preservation of its existence, had been obliged to have recourse, must naturally excite a spirit of revenge and cruelty in the malcontent faction : yet the former members of the directory, had intended to avoid bloodshed as much as possible, and only to banish those who should prove refractory, allowing their families a maintenance out of their properties. \* If the affairs of the Union had continued to be conducted with the ability of these former members, probably the government, with all its vigilance, would have been overturned.

The above-mentioned manifesto, which was not quite finished for publication, ran in the following terms.

“ Irishmen, your country is free, and you  
“ are about to be avenged. That vile govern-  
“ ment, which has so long and so cruelly op-  
“ pressed you, is no more. Some of its most  
“ atrocious monsters have already paid the for-  
“ feit of their lives, and the rest are in our

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\* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 31.

“hands. The national flag—the *sacred green*,  
“is at this moment flying over the ruins of  
“despotism; and that capital, which a few  
“hours past, had witnessed the debauchery, the  
“plots, and the crimes of your tyrants, is now  
“the citadel of triumphant Patriotism and  
“Virtue! Arise, then, United Sons of Ireland,  
“arise like a great and powerful people, deter-  
“mined to live free, or die. Arm yourselves  
“by every means in your power, and rush  
“like lions on your foes. Consider, that for  
“every enemy you disarm, you arm a friend,  
“and thus become doubly powerful. In the  
“cause of liberty, inaction is cowardice; and  
“the coward shall forfeit the property he has  
“not the courage to protect. Let his arms be  
“secured and transferred to those gallant  
“spirits who want and will use them. Yes,  
“Irishmen, we swear by that Eternal Justice,  
“in whose cause you fight, that the brave  
“Patriot who survives the present glorious  
“struggle, and the family of him who has  
“fallen, or hereafter shall fall in it, shall re-  
“ceive from the hands of a grateful nation an  
“ample recompence out of that property which  
“the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into  
“its hands, and his name shall be inscribed



“ on the great national record of Irish revolu-  
“ tion, as a glorious example to all posterity ;  
“ but we likewise swear to punish robbery  
“ with death and infamy. We also swear ne-  
“ ver to sheath the sword until every being in  
“ the country is restored to those equal rights  
“ which the God of nature has given to all  
“ men ; until an order of things shall be estab-  
“ lished in which no superiority shall be ac-  
“ knowledged among the citizens of Erin, but  
“ that of virtue and talents. As for those de-  
“ generate wretches who turn their swords  
“ against their native country, the national ven-  
“ geance awaits them : Let them find no quarter  
“ unless they shall prove their repentance by  
“ speedily exchanging the standard of slavery  
“ for that of freedom, under which their for-  
“ mer errors may be buried, and they may  
“ share the glory and advantages that are due  
“ to the patriot bands of Ireland. Many of the  
“ military feel the love of liberty glow within  
“ their breasts, and have joined the national  
“ standard. Receive with open arms such as  
“ shall follow so glorious an example—they  
“ can render signal service to the cause of  
“ freedom, and shall be rewarded according to  
“ their deserts. But for the wretch who turns

“his sword against his native country, let the  
 “national vengeance be visited on him ; let  
 “him find no quarter.

“Rouse all the energies of your souls : call  
 “forth all the merit and abilities which a vi-  
 “cious government consigned to obscurity ;  
 “and, under the conduct of your chosen leaders,  
 “march with a steady step to victory. Heed  
 “not the glare of hired soldiery or aristocratic  
 “yeomanry : they cannot stand the vigorous  
 “shock of free-men ; Their trappings and their  
 “arms will soon be yours ; and the detested  
 “government of England, to which we vow  
 “eternal hatred, shall learn, that the treasures  
 “it exhausts on its accoutered slaves, for the  
 “purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but  
 “further enable us to turn their swords on its  
 “devoted head. Attack them in every direc-  
 “tion by day and by night ; Avail yourselves  
 “of the natural advantages of your country,  
 “which are innumerable, and with which you  
 “are better acquainted than they. Where  
 “you cannot oppose them in full force, con-  
 “stantly harass their rear and their flanks :  
 “cut off their provisions and magazines, and  
 “prevent them as much as possible from  
 “uniting their forces : let whatever mo-

“ments you cannot devote to fighting for your  
“country, be passed in *learning* how to fight  
“for it, or preparing the means of war—for  
“war, war alone, must occupy every mind  
“and every hand in Ireland, until its long op-  
“pressed soil be purged of all its enemies.  
“——Vengeance, Irishmen!—Vengeance on  
“your oppressors!—Remember what thou-  
“sands of your dearest friends have perished by  
“their merciless orders!—Remember their  
“burnings, their rackings, their torturings,  
“their military massacres, and their legal  
“murders—!”

By such arrests, and other precautions, the plan of insurrection was frustrated, which was to commence on the night of the 23d of May, by an attack on the army encamped at Lehaunstown, or Laughlinstown, seven miles south of Dublin—an attack on the artillery stationed at Chapelizod, two miles west of the same—an attack on the castle, and other parts of the metropolis, as soon as the news of the two former assaults should reach the city, in all which the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare were to co-operate—and the destruction or detention of the mail-coaches on the north and south roads, which was to serve as a signal of

insurrection to the rest of the kingdom. The scheme had been announced late in the evening of the 21st, by a letter from the secretary of the Lord Lieutenant to Thomas Fleming, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and on the 22d by a message from the Lord Lieutenant to both houses of parliament ; to prevent its execution, the troops of the line and auxiliaries, amounting to one hundred and seventeen thousand effective men, were disposed under arms in what were supposed to be the most advantageous positions. By a variety of precautions the capital was restrained in tranquillity ; but in the neighbouring counties, notwithstanding the disorganization of the confederacy by the various operations of government, the appointment was observed by considerable numbers ; the mail-coaches on the northern, western, and southern roads were destroyed ; the first at Santry, three miles from Dublin ; the second between Lucan and Leixlip, eight miles from the same ; and the third near Naas, fifteen miles from the capital ; insurgents assembled in many places ; and in that night and the following day, several skirmishes were fought, and the towns of Naas, Claine, Prosperous, Ballymore-Eustace, and Kilcullen, were attacked ; as were also, in the

next succeeding night and day, those of Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monasterevan.

Among the skirmishes of the recent insurrection were those which took place near Rathfarnham, Tallagh, Lucan, Lusk, Dunboyne, Barretstown, Collon, and Baltinglass. In all these petty actions, except those near Dunboyne and Barretstown, and in all the attacks of towns, except that of Prosperous, the United Irish were victorious. In these and other conflicts in the course of the insurrection, the number of the killed and wounded of the United Army is extremely uncertain, and almost always vastly exaggerated in the public prints. The action near Dunboyne, eight miles from Dublin, in the county of Meath, was the surprise of the regiment of Reay fencibles by a body of United Irish, who seized the baggage of the king's troops escorted by the above regiment ; and that near Barretstown, was also a surprise of a body of the Suffolk fencibles, who lost all their baggage in their march to Kildare. The engagement in the neighbourhood of Baltinglass, twenty-nine miles from Dublin, southward, was one of the most considerable of the skirmishes which happened at this time. A body of at least fourteen hundred of the

United Army, were, on the 24th, at 1 o'clock, attacked in the town of Stratford upon Slaney, near Baltinglass, on one side by the Antrim regiment under Colonel Macauley, and part of the ninth dragoons ; and on the other by a party of Horse commanded by Captain Stratford. By this double attack they were totally routed, with the slaughter perhaps of near three hundred ; while but one hundred and ninety seven of the Royalists were killed.

The attack of Prosperous, a small town in the county of Kildare, intended for a seat of cotton manufactures, seventeen miles distant from Dublin, was made an hour after midnight, on the night of the 23d, or morning of the 24th, by a large body of men, supposed to be conducted by Doctor John Esmond, a Catholic gentleman, first Lieutenant of a troop of yeoman cavalry.

The garrison was assailed by surprise, the barrack was fired, and the greater number of the city of Cork militia, with their Commander, perished in the flames, and by the pikes of the enemy—Twenty eight also of a Welch regiment of cavalry, stiled ancient Britons, were slaughtered on this occasion, and a

few were made prisoners. Many of the United Irish of this body, were, by the trembling royalist inhabitants, recognized to be the same who on the preceding day surrendered to the King's justices, and had expressed contrition for having engaged in the conspiracy of United Irish, and made most solemn promises of future loyalty—a melancholy instance of dissimulation, practised elsewhere in similar circumstances. Here, as in all other places where the United Army had success, in the early part of the rebellion, while their hopes were high, a tumultuous and frantic exultation took place, with congratulations of Naas and Dublin being in the possession of their associates; the conveyance of such false intelligence, to inspire their followers, being a part of the policy almost constantly practised by the chiefs of the revolt. Loud shouts were heard on such occasions, of *down with the Orangemen!* and which marked the object of insurrection at its very commencement, in the minds of the common people. They accordingly murdered with deliberate ceremony, and mangled their bodies in a horrid manner, two gentlemen of the names of Stamer and Brewer, who had been obnoxious to them. That a slaughter of a

great number would have been perpetrated, is highly probable, if it had not been prevented by the approach of a body of troops, through fear of whom the United Irish fled.

The attack of Naas, the most considerable of the military stations, assailed by the United Army at the very commencement of the rebellion, was an hour and a half later than that of Prosperous. In this town, fifteen miles south-westward of Dublin, were posted the Armagh militia, detachments of the fourth regiment of dragoon guards and of the ancient Britons, under the command of Lord Viscount Gosford. The surprise of this post was prevented by the vigilance of the garrison. The approach of near a thousand insurgents, under the conduct of a chief named Reynolds, being announced by a dragoon, the troops had time to form according to a preconcerted plan. Repulsed in their first onset at the county goal, which stands in this town, the United Irish possessed themselves of all the avenues, and made a general assault in almost every direction. Unable to make an impression on the troops, they fled on all sides after about two hours and a half of irregular firing, and were pursued with slaughter by the cavalry. Of the King's forces seve-



ral officers and privates were slain ; of the Irish about two hundred were found dead in the streets, and a greater number, were slaughtered in the roads and fields in the pursuit. In the course of the day the inhabitants of Naas beheld such scenes, as were afterwards exhibited elsewhere on a larger scale, and with much higher colouring, the terrified royalists of the neighbouring towns and country, men, women, and children, who had abandoned their possessions to the rapacity of the foe, flocking into this place of arms with the troops who retreated from the inferior posts. The garrison of Claine arrived here in the morning, The troops who had fought at Kilcullen arrived not before nine in the evening ; the fugitive Royalists who accompanied them were obliged to remain in the streets all night, yet they fared much better than many people afterwards in similar situations, as they were supplied with provisions from the military stores while they continued in the town, which was during some time after in a state of alarm.

In the action at Kilcullen, which had taken place at seven in the morning, the inefficacy of cavalry against embattled pikemen was too clearly shewn. A body of about six hundred

of the Irish, having taken post at the church of Old Kilcullen, General Dundas, without waiting for his infantry, ordered his cavalry, consisting of the light dragoons and Romneys, to charge, and, in this service, three times repeated, they were repulsed with the loss of one of their Colonels, and a number of subaltern officers and privates, besides many wounded, most of them mortally. Retiring to Kilcullen bridge, he attacked the enemy, who had followed him thither, with the infantry in front, who, in ten destructive discharges of musketry, discomfited and dispersed them.

A mistaken opinion of the force of cavalry against pikemen seems to have been almost universal until this moment, when experience brought conviction.

War being now openly commenced by the conspirators, government necessarily proceeded to the strongest measure of coercion. The Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation on the 24th giving notice, that orders were conveyed to all his majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, as their judgment should approve, all persons acting, or in any manner assisting,

in the rebellion. This proclamation was notified the same day to both houses of parliament, by a message from his excellency, who received in consequence, addresses of thanks and approbation from both. The effects of this procedure, the necessity of which marked the calamitous condition of the country, were quickly felt by great numbers of the lower, and some of the higher classes of the people. An instance of its fatality to the latter, immediately occurred on the sanguinary repulse of the United Irish at Carlow.

Of the intended surprise of this town, forty miles south-westward from Dublin, the garrison was apprised, both by an intercepted letter, and by the intelligence of a captain Roe, of the Sligo militia, who had observed the peasants assembling in the vicinity late in the evening of the 24th of May. The garrison, consisting of the ninth dragoons, the light company of the Kilkenny militia under captain Heard, some of the Louth militia, the yeoman infantry of Carlow, under Captains Burton and Eustace, Sir Charles Burton's yeomen cavalry, and a few volunteers—the whole about eleven hundred and fifty in number, under the command of Colonel Mahon, of the ninth dragoons, was

judiciously distributed at various posts for the reception of the assailants. The plan of assault was ill contrived, or ill executed. Different parties were appointed to enter the town at different avenues; but only one, that which arrived soonest, attempted an entrance, the rest being deterred by the incessant firing of the troops. This body, amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred, assembling at the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half distant from Carlow, marched into the town at two o'clock of the morning of the 25th of May, with so little precaution as to alarm the garrison at a quarter of a mile's distance, by the discharge of a gun, in the execution of a man who scrupled to accompany them in their enterprize. Shouting as they rushed into Tullow-street, with that vain confidence, which is commonly followed by disappointment, *that the town was their own*, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled and endeavoured to retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, where they found a miserable exit, these being immediately fired by the soldiery. About eighty houses were consumed in this conflagration, and for some days the roasted remains of

unhappy men were falling down the chimnies in which they had perished. As about half this column of assailants had arrived within the town, and few escaped from that situation, their loss can hardly be estimated at less than six hundred; while but a few, in comparison, fell on the side of the king's troops.

After the defeat, executions commenced, as elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about four hundred in a short time were hanged or shot, according to martial law. Among the earliest victims were Sir Edward Crosbie, and a Mr. Heydon, who commanded in Sir Charles Burton's troop. The latter is believed to have been the leading chief of the insurgent column; to have conducted the assailants into the town, and on their ill success to have abandoned them. Sir Edward, at whose house the column had assembled, but who certainly had not accompanied them in their march, was condemned and hanged as an United Irishman.

The court which condemned this amiable and unfortunate baronet, was illegally constituted, being destitute of a judge advocate. The execution of the sentence was precipitate, at an unusual hour in the night, and attended

with atrocious circumstances, not warranted by the sentence, and reflecting indelible disgrace on the parties concerned.

The defeats of the United Irish at Monaster-evan and Hacketstown, in the same morning with that of Carlow, were nearly as bloodless on the side of the Royalists.

The garrison of the former, consisting of nine hundred men, of whom a good many were cavalry, was assailed by a body of men, perhaps a thousand or thirteen hundred in number; but such was the spirit of this little army, assisted by some volunteers, that the assailants were on every side completely repulsed, though they could not be prevented from setting fire to part of the town. The infantry had advanced against the main body of the enemy on the bank of the grand canal, where the town is situated; while the cavalry, skirmished with another party in the street. On the return of part of the infantry from the pursuit, a furious attack was made in conjunction with the cavalry, and the United Irish were driven from the town with slaughter. Two hundred and sixty-eight of their dead were said to be collected and buried by the victors; some

are supposed to have been carried away by the vanquished, many of whom were doubtless wounded. Of the Royalists about two thirds of that number were slain, of whom many were of the volunteer class.

The incaution and confidence of the United Irish was no where more strongly exemplified than in their attack of Hacketstown, in the county of Carlo, forty-four miles from Dublin. The garrison, which was composed of the Antrim militia, under Colonel Gardiner, and a body of Orangemen under captain Hardy, being apprised of the approach of the United Army, marched out to meet them; but on sight of the enemy, whose number appeared to be above three thousand, the troops retreated, lest they should be surrounded, and took refuge in the garrison. This, as the event soon proved, answered the purpose of a feint. The United Irish, from joy of their imagined victory, raised a vehement shout, and rushing forward in the utmost confusion, were, on the sudden arrival of a detachment of light infantry, charged with such address and spirit as to be completely routed with the loss of near four hundred of their men, while not more than

two hundred and fifty-three of the Royalists were killed.

While the rebellion was thus checked in its extension south-westward of the capital, exertions were made, and arrangements to suppress it, on the northern and western sides. In consequence of these arrangements, on the evening of the 26th, a large body of the United Irish assembled on the hill of Tarah, in the county of Meath, situated eighteen miles northward of Dublin, was compleatly routed, with the slaughter, it is said of eleven hundred and fifty of their men, found dead on the field of battle, together with two of their Generals, and many inferior officers.

The loss of the victorious party, was acknowledged to be very great. The position of this hill, insulated by a widely surrounding plain, is well adapted for defence against an attacking foe, but ill for escape from victorious cavalry, from whose pursuit they could be protected only by the inclosures of the fields, so that many doubtless were killed or wounded in their retreat,

As this victory laid open the communication of the metropolis with the northern part of the



kingdom, so other successful movements produced the same effects on the western side. On the 29th, a little after eleven o'clock in the morning, a body of the United army, who had posted themselves in the village of Bathangan, on the grand canal, in the county of Kildare, situated twenty-nine miles westward of Dublin, had fortified their post with barricadoes and chains across the streets, was dislodged, and about sixty of them slaughtered, by a party under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Longfield, of the royal Cork militia, who advanced against the town with his artillery in the front, his infantry supporting it behind, and his cavalry so placed as to support both. The loss sustained by the Kings troops was inconsiderable, as the Irish gave way on the fifth or sixth discharge of their cannon.

Discouraged by defeats, some of the United Irish began to wish for leave to retire in safety to their homes, and resume their peaceful occupations. Of this, a remarkable instance occurred on the 31st of May. Lieutenant-General Dundas, who had, in the afternoon of the 24th, defeated a United force near Kilcullen, and relieved that town, received on the 28th, at his quarters at Naas, a message from a body

of about two thousand men, posted on an eminence, called Knockawin hill, on the border of the Curragh of Kildare, a beautiful plain, used as a race course, twenty-two miles south-westward of the metropolis. The purport of this message, which was in a frank and simple way, was, "that, as their brave Officers were no more, and had fallen in battle, they would now, as being without a General, surrender their arms to him, on condition of their being permitted to retire unmolested to their habitations, and that he would likewise liberate one of their Colonels, named Perkins, from the gaol of Naas. The General, having sent a messenger for advice to Dublin Castle, and receiving permission, assented to the terms.

This disposition to surrender, (which good policy ought to have encouraged, on the part of the Government,) among the United Irish, was blasted three days after by military ardor, which, when it eludes the salutary restraints of discipline, and is exerted against an unresisting object, ceases to be laudable. Major-General Sir James Duff, who had made a rapid march from Limerick with six thousand men, to open the communication of the metropolis

with that quarter, received intelligence of this body of men being at a place called Gibbitrath, on the Curragh, for the purpose of surrendry, to which they had been admitted by General Dundas. Unfortunately as the troops advanced near the United Irish, to receive their surrendered weapons, one of the latter, foolishly swearing that he would not deliver his gun otherwise than empty, discharged it with the muzzle upwards. The soldiers instantly pretending to consider this as an act of hostility, fired on the unresisting multitude, who fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued with unrelenting slaughter by the fencible cavalry, denominated Lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters. Above seven hundred of the people fell upon this occasion, and a far greater number would have shared their fate, if a retreat had not been sounded with all possible dispatch, agreeably to the instructions of General Dundas, who had sent an express from his quarters at Kilcullen, to prevent such an accident. In the public prints, this body of United Irish is asserted to have assembled for the purpose of battle, and to have actually fired on the troops, but the truth ought to be related without respect of persons or

party. The affair is well known to have been otherwise ; and the people were crowded in a place neither fit for defence nor escape—a wide plain without hedge, ditch, or bog, quite contrary to their constantly practised modes of warfare.

This eagerness of the soldiery for the slaughter of the unresisting Irish, was often fatal to royalists ; for frequently some of the latter were prisoners with the former, and being found among them by the troops, were not always distinguished from them. A remarkable instance, in the march of this army, was on the point of having place in the melancholy catalogue which might be authentically formed. A number of royalists, many of them of amiable characters, who had fallen into the hands of the United Irish, were liberated for their humanity. They were, in consequence, deemed rebels by the soldiery, who were proceeding instantly to hang them, when they were, in a critical moment, prevented by the interference of one of their brother-in-law's, who was fortunately present, a Colonel Sankey.

While, by the above-mentioned operations, the communication was, in a great measure,

laid open between the several parts of the kingdom and the capital, which had for some days actually sustained a species of blockade, an insurrection had burst out in a part where it was least expected.

The town of Wexford, and its adjacent counties, had been but very recently and partially organized, and many of the principal catholic gentry had addressed the Lord Lieutenant, protesting, that if they were relieved from the great military force which was quartered on them, that they would, if permitted, arm themselves and their tenantry, in defence of Government, whenever there should be occasion.

These assurances, however, were but little attended to, and the magistrates, as usual, in the several districts, were employed in distributing the military at free quarters, in ordering the seizure, imprisonment, hanging and torturing of vast numbers of suspected persons.

Whether an insurrection would, in the then existing state of the kingdom, have taken place in this quarter, or in case of its eruption, how much less formidable and terrible it would have been, if the addresses of these per-

secuted gentry had been attended to, is a question which cannot well be determined. The probability is, that, if the Lord Lieutenant had acted with that dignified humanity he ought, in acceding to their conciliatory addresses, in granting timely protection to their lives and properties, that most of them would have been extremely glad to renounce forever all notions of opposition to Government.

Whatever might have been the state of affairs with different management, the Standard of Liberty, after an apparently passive submission, was at last hoisted between Gorey and Wexford, on the 26th of May, by a body of about two thousand men; against which marched instantly a body of the King's troops on the same morning, between eight and nine hundred in number, from the neighbouring town of Carnew, in the county of Wicklow. The infantry of this army, flanked by the cavalry, advanced intrepidly up the hill against the United Irish, who were posted on the summit. The King's troops, on a nearer approach, perceiving the steadiness of this confused body, as they supposed them to be, were

instantly struck with a panic and fled, after a few discharges of musketry. About one hundred and fifty of their number, with their commander, was killed in the pursuit.

From this commencement of hostility, the commotion spread rapidly on all sides ; and the collection of large parties of the United, was greatly promoted by the numbers of people shot in the roads, at work in the fields, and even in their houses, unarmed and unoffending, by straggling parties of the military.

Early on the following morning, being Whitsunday, the North Cork militia, with the Shilmalier cavalry, and some auxiliaries, were marched from Wexford to stop the progress of this unexpected insurrection, which had become more serious than was at first imagined.

Having halted a little, after a fatiguing and hasty march of seven miles, they proceeded three miles further, and came in sight of the United Irish, collected in great numbers on the hill of Oulard, distant about ten miles from Wexford. Colonel Foote, of the North Cork, and General Lehunt, seeing their position so strong and commanding, thought it advisable not to attack them ; but Colonel

Wallace and Major Lombard, with all the other officers, being of a contrary opinion, orders were given to burn all the peasants' houses, situated in a hollow, between the King's army and the United Irish. This was done with a view to stimulate the Irish to revenge, and thus, if possible, to induce them to abandon the advantage of their situation.

This feint, however, not succeeding, and the greater number of the officers still persisting in their opinion, General Lehunt and Colonel Foote addressed the soldiers, animating them at once to attack the insurgent army, who, they said, would fly at their approach. Their words had the effect of making them advance.

They descended from the small eminence which they occupied, and, crossing the valley between, began to ascend the hill of Oulard, while the Shilmalier cavalry took a circuitous route round the hill to the left, with the intention of preventing a retreat, but in fact they caused the cowardly part of the Irish to be brave, who might have ran off on perceiving the approach of a serious engagement. This, also, contributed to make the United Irish



rush in greater numbers, and with accumulated force on the North Cork, who were charging up the hill. They had fired but two vollies, when they were totally discomfited. This success of the Irish was much promoted by a body of six hundred, concealed under cover of the ditches, who waited the close approach of the military. By this manœuvre these were suddenly surprized by an inferior force, but the impetuosity of the attack occasioned their total overthrow, with the cruel slaughter of the North Cork militia, most of whom, with their Colonel and officers, were left on the field of battle. In short none of the infantry escaped, except General Lehunt, Major Allen, and eleven privates, who mounted the horses of the slain.

The United Irish had but fifty three men killed, and a few wounded. The Shilmalier cavalry, and their Colonel, made a precipitate retreat to Wexford. A large party of the Wexford cavalry, also, who had no share whatever in the action, were involved in this retreat, in the course of which they shot a great number of straggling men; and burned several houses.

While the country exhibited a scene of distress and consternation, houses in flames, and families flying on all sides for asylum; the United army marched from Oulard, flushed with victory, and perpetually augmented on its way by new accessions. They first took possession of Camolin, a small town six miles westward of Gorey, the obnoxious inhabitants of which had taken refuge in the latter.

The great suspense felt by the inhabitants of Wexford, during the whole of this day, on account of so sudden an insurrection, now grew into serious alarm, such as unexpected news like this, must inspire. The lamentation of the unfortunate widows and orphans of the soldiers who had fallen in the encounter, increased the general consternation. These, clapping their hands, ran about the streets quite frantic, mixing their piteous moanings with the plaintive cries of their children, and uttering their bitterest maledictions against the yeomen, whom they charged with having run away, and left their husbands to destruction!—Letters were dispatched to Duncannon-Fort, and to Waterford, with these disastrous accounts, and requesting reinforcements.

trial, and among them the informer on whose evidence they were arrested. Strange to tell, officers presided to sanction these proceedings! A man escaped by feigning to be killed, he was one out of eighteen of the corps of Captain Saunders, of Saunders grove, Baltinglass. These reports, together with all the dreadful accounts from the county of Kildare, roused their minds to the utmost pitch of alarm, indignation and fury. They were forming from the evening of the 26th, during the whole of the night, in two bodies. One assembled on Ardeen-hill, against whom marched from Carnew, on the morning of the 27th, a body of cavalry and infantry, who proceeded boldly up the hill, where the United Irish possessed a strong and commanding situation, if they knew how to take advantage of it; but they were panic-struck, and fled at the approach of the King's forces, who pursued them with great slaughter. They spared no man they met, and burned at least two hundred houses in the course of a march of thirteen mile

The Rev. Michael Murphy, had been so alarmed on hearing of the rising of the people, that he fled into the town of Gorey early on Whitsunday; on his arrival, not finding Mr.

Kenny with whom he had lodged there, he was induced to return for him and his family, for which purpose not being able to procure a driver, he himself led a horse and car, and pursued a bye road, to get, if possible, unobserved into Ballecanow, by which means he did not meet some yeomen and others, that had gone on the high road to Gorey, after they had torn up the altar, broken the windows, and otherwise damaged the Roman catholic chapel, uttering the most violent threats against the priest and his flock, which specimens were very unlikely to remove the dreadful reports of the intended extermination of the catholics. These depredations had so much weight on the Rev. Michael Murphy, as to induce him to alter his original intention, and not to fly to *such* men for protection, and he was then led on by the multitude to Kilthomas hill; the Rev. John Murphy, had, from similar unforeseen occurrences, joined the United Irish. These two clergymen had been remarkable for their exhortations and exertions against the system of United Irishmen, until they were thus whirled into this *political vortex*, which, from all the information we have been able to collect, they undertook under the apprehension of extermination.

The Rev. John Murphy was acting coadjutor of the parish of Monageer, and impressed with horror at the desolation around him, took up arms with the people, representing to them that they had better die courageously in the field, than to be butchered in their houses.— The United Irish in this quarter, now began their career, by imitating the example that had been set before them. They commenced burning the houses of those who were most obnoxious to them. Every gentleman's house in the country was summoned to surrender their arms, and where any resistance was offered, the house was attacked, plundered and burnt, and most of the inhabitants killed in the conflict. The Clonmine cavalry were the first that attacked these insurgents. In the action Capt. Bookey, and some privates, lost their lives, the rest retreated to Gorey. On the 27th of May, Colonel Hawtrey led out two troops of horse from Gorey, determined to revenge the deaths of their companions. They came in sight of the United Army on the north side of the hill of Camolin; but they appeared in such force, that they thought it not prudent to attack them, but returned to Gorey, burning the houses of suspected persons, and putting

every straggler to death on their way. Numbers were called to their doors and shot, while many more met the like fate within their houses, and some even that were asleep.

Thus it appears that the insurrection broke out, at first, in a line from west to east, pretty nearly across the middle of the county, unsupported by the inhabitants either north or south of that direction. These were the tracts whose natives appeared most peaceably inclined, and who thought to avoid joining in the insurrection. The yeomanry of the north of the county proceeded on the 27th against a quiet and defenceless populace; sallied forth in their neighbourhoods, burned numbers of houses, and put to death hundreds of persons who were unarmed, unoffending and unresisting, so that those who had taken up arms had the greater chance of escape at that time.

Such was the state of the northern part of the county, which continued, during the whole of Whitsunday, ignorant of the state of the south.

On the evening of the 26th, Colonel Grogan, perceiving from a height near his quarters, several houses on fire between Enniscorthy and

Oulard, assembled all the infantry and cavalry that he could muster, and proceeded with them to Enniscorthy, whence he accompanied the Enniscorthy cavalry, to meet the United Irish, who were committing great devastation throughout the country, in retaliation, as they alleged, for what they had previously suffered. In fact, there seemed to exist between the parties an emulation of enmity, as they endeavoured to outdo each other in mischief, by burning and destroying on both sides those whom they deemed their enemies. The Roman catholic chapels of the country were mostly all burnt, as was the house of the Rev. John Murphy, already mentioned ; and several houses were set on fire, and some of the inhabitants consumed within them : no man that was seen in coloured clothes escaped the fury of the soldiery, In and about Ferns a party of the North Cork militia, and some yeomen, pursued the like conduct, as well as in the course of their retreat from thence to Enniscorthy, where they arrived on the morning of the 27th. The Shilmalier infantry, commanded by the Right Hon. George Ogle, were then in Enniscorthy also. They took an excursion to Darby-gap, and on their return they marched home.

The town of Enniscorthy was crowded by great numbers of people who fled into it from the country, catholics among the rest. Some of the latter were put into confinement in the castle, notwithstanding the deplorable evils of which that impolitic system had been already productive; and, although it must be naturally imagined, that a greater proof could not be given of not wishing to join the United Army than that of flying into the town for refuge.

On Monday morning, the 28th of May, every preparation was made for defence, and every precaution observed in the town. The whole military force were on the alert, and under arms, in expectation of an immediate attack. Many of the inhabitants of the town offered their services, and armed themselves as well as they could, to contribute to the general defence. Some of the most respectable were permitted to join the troops, but most of those who had offered their assistance, were, during the battle, ordered to ground their arms and retire into their houses, out of which they were peremptorily warned not to stir on pain of death.



After the battle of Oulard, the United Irish encamped for the night at Carrigrew, from whence they set out at seven o'clock on Monday morning, the 28th, to Camolin, from thence to Ferns, where meeting with little interruption, or any military force of consequence to oppose them, they crossed the Slaney by the bridge at Scarawalsh, halted for some time on the hill of Balliorril, and from thence they proceeded to attack Enniscorthy, where they arrived about one o'clock, driving before them a great number of cattle with a view of overpowering the infantry that had proceeded to the Duffrey gate, where the attack commenced. The assailants, posting themselves behind the ditches that enclose the town parks, kept up a severe but irregular fire of musketry, intermixed with pikemen, who were twice charged by the Enniscorthy and Healthfield cavalry along the two roads leading into the town, with little or no effect. The battle lasted with various success for four hours. Colonel Snowe not considering it prudent to quit his situation on the bridge to support the cavalry at the Duffrey gate, who then fell down by degrees into the town, leaving the suburbs, composed of thatched houses, unpro-

tected, which then were set on fire, (each party accusing the other for doing so) and as it turned out, nothing could be more conducive to the success of the United Irish. During the confusion the conflagrations occasioned, a disorderly fight was maintained in the town, which, to render it untenable, was fired in many parts by the inhabitants not friendly to government, many of whom also aimed shots from the windows at the garrison. The assailants in a short time, extending themselves around, and making dispositions to ford the river in several places, were galled from the bridge, which was now become the station of defence, by the fire of the militia, who doubtless, if their force had been properly directed from the beginning of the attack, in conjunction with the regular military, would have either entirely repulsed the United Irish, or committed such havoc among them, as greatly to check their ardor for the prosecution of their enterprise. So fluctuating, for some time, was the success of the day, that many persons, to avoid the fury of each prevailing party in turn, alternately hoisted the Orange and the Green ribbon. At length, a considerable body of United Irish, wading

across the river, up to their necks in water, had entered the eastern part, called Templeshannon, and made so furious an onset as to decide the fate of the day. The King's troops were now in every direction overpowered by the impetuosity and intrepidity of the United forces, many of whom fell in the gallant defence made against them; but the regular soldiers having but few cannon to support them, and the town being on fire in several places, they at last sounded a retreat. Whilst the town was thus circumstanced, a proposal was made to Colonel Snowe, to put the prisoners to death before the evacuation of the place; but he, like a truly brave man, would not listen to such a diabolical proposal, and rejected it with scorn and abhorrence: notwithstanding which, a party went to the castle, determined to put all confined therein to death. An ineffectual attempt was made to break open the door, the keeper having forgot to leave the key, with which he had set off towards Wexford; and this circumstance providentially saved the lives of the prisoners, as it became too dangerous for the military to wait any longer to put their threats in execution; threats which they constantly repeated the whole of the morning while they stood

guard over their prisoners. Indeed, so assured were the prisoners themselves of being put to death, that they had continued for hours on their knees at prayer, in preparation for that awful event, when the victors released them from confinement. Colonel Hunt, of the Enniscorthy infantry and many officers, with about four hundred and eighty of the military, and some supplementary men, fell in this action.

That of the United forces, who certainly suffered a very galling fire, was said to be five hundred. A regular retreat being sounded, gave the military an opportunity of bringing away their families and friends, together with a great many men, women and children, who proceeded in the best manner they could, to Wexford. The only opinion prevailing in the latter town, for some hours, was, that Enniscorthy and all its inhabitants were totally destroyed. This was occasioned by the arrival in Wexford of Lieutenant Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and a private of the Enniscorthy cavalry, who had been so fortunate as to effect their escape, and who came in with their horses all in a foam, so as to bespeak the most precipitate flight. At the same time tremendous clouds of smoke were observed over Enniscorthy,

which is distant only eleven miles from Wexford, and no news arriving for several hours, left room for no other conjecture, but seemed to confirm the account given by these fugitives. The military in their retreat, were very confused at first : however, self-preservation urged their keeping together. Suggested by a private in the yeomanry, officers had been induced to tear off their epaulets, and every other mark that could distinguish them from the privates, considering themselves in more danger if they were recognized as officers. But, not being attacked, there was sufficient leisure to escort those that accompanied them, and who were in such a piteous plight, as to excite, on their arrival, the hearty commiseration of all the inhabitants of Wexford, who invited them indiscriminately into their houses, and supplied them with with every comfort and necessary in their power, and of which they stood so much in need. How distressing must be the situation of many ladies who were glad to get up behind or before any person that might be tender enough, in the general consternation, to take them on horseback ! Some had their clothes scorched about them, others wanted their shoes and other parts of their dress, which had been lost or torn off ;

besides the great heat of the day made it doubly distressing to delicate females, many of whom had the additional charge of the burden and care of their children. It was very deplorable to observe the anguish and misery of these fugitives, so suddenly and violently torn from their homes and family endearments; while each, in melancholy detail, dwelt upon the relation of private calamity.

Great as the apprehensions of the inhabitants of Wexford had been before, they were much heightened by the mournful appearances and heart-rending recitals of these unhappy sufferers. All dreaded that their houses, their properties, and themselves, should share the fate of Enniscorthy and its inhabitants. At this critical period, the Shilmalier infantry, commanded by the Right, Hon. George Ogle, marched into Wexford. Every possible preparation was now made for defence. The several avenues leading into the town were barricaded, and cannon were placed at the different entrances. The inhabitants universally manifested a zeal to defend their habitations, their properties, and their families, against the insurgents; and numbers offered themselves for the ranks, and to perform military duty. Upwards of two hundred were

consequently embodied, there being arms for no more, under the command of gentlemen who had been in the army, and officers of militia then in the town on leave of absence. These occasional soldiers mounted guard in the same manner with the regular troops ; and every precaution was taken to guard against a nocturnal surprise, which was strongly apprehended. The gentlemen confined in the gaol were visited by numbers of those in town, who entreated them to write to their tenants and neighbours, to induce them to remain quiet at their homes, and to avoid joining the United Irish from the other side of the Slaney. This the gentlemen were obliged to comply with, in the presence of those who besought them, urging it in the most strenuous and persuasive terms they could ; and messengers were accordingly dispatched to every person, who, it was suggested to them, possessed influence enough for the purpose, or who was imagined capable of contributing to keep the baronies of Forth and Bargy from rising.

On the morning of the 29th, the dispositions for the defence of the town, were continued with unabating vigour. The Donegal militia, commanded by colonel Maxwell, with

a few six pounders, marched in at eight o'clock in the morning, and were billeted throughout the town to get refreshment, of which they stood in great need, having marched all night from Duncannon-Fort, accompanied by the Health old cavalry, commanded by Colonel Grogan. This gentleman having escorted Serjeant Stanley to Waterford, returned to Duncannon-Fort, where he met General Fawcett, whose determination he now announced, of coming to the assistance of Wexford, with an additional force as soon as possible. With this detachment also arrived Colonel Colville, Captain Young, and Lieutenant Soden, officers of the 13th regiment, giving the glad tidings of the approach of their body with General Fawcett and the Meath militia. A gentleman, was, however, dispatched to the General, to urge, in the most pressing terms, the immediate necessity of the reinforcement. The Taghmon cavalry, under the command of Captain Cox, arrived in town in the course of the day. The apprehensions of the inhabitants increased every moment. Every boat in the harbour was busily employed in the conveyance of women and children, with the most valuable effects, on board ships, which now



were in great requisition, occasioned by the vast numbers of people who crowded these vessels, in order to escape from the town, which, it was dreaded, would be burnt. To guard against such a disastrous event, all the fires in the town were strictly ordered to be put out at different intervals ; and during the prohibited time, even the bakers were not allowed to heat their ovens. A further measure of precaution adopted on this occasion, was, that of pulling down all the houses outside the walls of the town, which last were still standing in full preservation, except the gate-ways, which had been long broken down for public convenience, but were now strongly barricaded. In short, the utmost activity prevailed for purposes of defence. The guards were augmented, and patroles of cavalry were constantly sent out to reconnoitre. The widows of the military, who had fallen in the action at Oulard, still continued inconsolable about the town, uttering their piteous lamentations. The bodies of the officers who were slain on that occasion, were this day brought in by permission of young Mr. Devereux, who consented to the request of these unfortunate ladies, from motives of policy and humanity ; and this contri-

buted not a little to dispirit the military in the town.

To retard the progress of the insurgents, now universally styled the United Army, if possible, without battle, until sufficient reinforcements could arrive to enable the King's Army to cope with them, an expedient was essayed by a Mr. Boyd that one of the three prisoners already mentioned, should go to the Army and endeavour to divert the attention of the chiefs from marching direct to Wexford. The prisoners were accordingly visited by all the respectable officers and gentlemen in the town; several requesting of Mr. Hay the relation and friend of the gentlemen confined, to accompany them to the prison, for the purpose of introduction. Indeed, so marked was the attention paid to them on this occasion, that an indifferent spectator would be led to consider them rather as the governors of the town, than as prisoners. Messrs. Harvey, Fitzgerald and Colclough, at the request of their friends, stipulated that they might take their turns of going abroad interchangeably at their discretion, provided one should always remain in gaol, as a guarantee for the return

of the rest. Mr. Harvey was then fixed on to remain, and Messrs. Fitzgerald and Colclough were immediately liberated, and sent out to prevail on the army to direct their attention to another quarter in order to save the lives of the prisoners then in Wexford. They were escorted from the gaol by several officers of the first rank, who conducted them beyond the out-posts; and then a military guard was sent to attend them till they passed the patrols, and so they set off towards Enniscorthy, where they found on their arrival, the principal chiefs in council, undetermined in any plan of operations.—Some proposing to march direct to Dublin, others to Wexford, others to Ross, as being places of importance in all times of commotion and war. But the deputation of the prisoners, who of necessity informed the chiefs that they had been liberated, and sent out for the express purpose of conciliation, with assurances from the government of an immediate redress of grievances. This pusillanimous message served only to concentrate their wavering opinions, and to point immediately to some object their previously fluctuating determinations. It was but the resolution of a moment to march in a body to at-

tack Wexford, Mr. Fitzgerald they detained in the camp, and Mr. Colclough they sent back to announce their determination of not yielding while victorious to any terms offered by the enemies of their country.

Mr. Colclough arrived in Wexford early in the evening, and waited in the bull-ring, (a square in the town so denominated) until the officers and principal Royalists in the place had there assembled, when he informed them, in a very audible voice, from on horseback, that having gone out, according to their directions, to the United Army on Vinegar-hill, he found, as he had already suggested before his departure, that he possessed no influence with the Chiefs, who had ordered him to return and announce their determination of marching to the attack of Wexford ; adding, that they had detained Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Colclough then requested to be informed, if it was intended to make further trial of his services, or to require his longer attendance, as otherwise they must be sensible how eager he must be to relieve the anxiety of his family by his presence. He was then intreated to endeavour to maintain tranquillity in his own neighbourhood, which hav-

ing promised to do as much as in his power, he called at the goal to visit Mr. Harvey, with whom he agreed, (according to compact) to return next day and take his place in the gaol, and then set off through the barony of Forth, to his own dwelling at Ballyteigue, distant about twelve miles from Wexford.

If any thing could add to the general consternation in Wexford, it was to learn the determination of the United Irish to come to attack the town. Ships became in greater requisition than ever, and all the vessels in the harbour were stowed with amazing numbers, the streets were quite deserted, and the shops and lower windows of all the houses were shut up. Late in the evening, within six miles of Wexford, the yeomen cavalry descried the advanced guard of the United army ; with which intelligence they immediately posted back with all speed to the town, which was already in expectation of being attacked every instant. Every degree of vigilance and precaution was now exerted and the military kept on the alert all night. The portcullis on the remarkable wooden-bridge, over the Slaney, was hoisted, whereby the greatest part of it was left defenceless, while a few pieces of cannon would have per-

fectly protected the whole; and this mismanagement, became the more to be regretted, as, about break of-day, the toll-house on the country-side on the end of it, was discovered to be on fire, and burned with great fury, the materials being of deal: and pitch and tar had been spread over the entrance of the bridge to increase the rapidity of the flames. Some boat-loads of sailors from the harbour were the first that ventured to extinguish the fire, having taken their buckets for the purpose. These found the place deserted, as the business had been executed by a party of about twelve United Irish who fled at their approach. The sharp smoke from the burning wood, drifted by the wind, which blew right along the bridge, retarded much the progress of some military who at length moved toward the fire, but these, leaving the sailors to their own exertions, made a cut across the bridge at some distance from the conflagration. The fire however, was soon put out, and none of the oak-beams that principally support the bridge, were burnt through, the floor and railings only, which were of deal, being consumed. The cries of the women and children throughout the town were so dismal and alarming as to rouse the military from their beds, when they had scarcely time to have fallen

asleep, since they had retired from their several posts, to which they were thus summoned back in a hurry to repel the attack of an enemy which was every moment expected. The United Irish were now encamped on the Three Rocks, the end of the low ridge of the mountain of Forth, about three miles from Wexford, and did not seem so willing to advance as was apprehended in the town.

The entire military force at this time in Wexford, amounted to near three thousand men under arms ; who, as the town wall was in good condition, might defy ten times the number of assailants, not supported by a great superiority of ordnance.

General Fawcett having sent a messenger with advices, that he would commence his march for Wexford on the morning of the 29th, with a reinforcement of two thousand men and a party of artillery, induced General Watson to take post with his army on the Windmill hill above the town, at day break on the following morning, the 30th, with resolution to march against the enemy on the arrival of General Fawcett.

The General had marched according to his promise, on the 29th ; but, unfortunately halting at Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, he had sent forward his advanced guard of three hundred men, including a part of the royal artillery, with the howitzers, under the command of Colonel Adams. This detachment was intercepted early in the morning of the 30th under the mountain of Forth by a body of United Irish, who poured down upon them with such rapidity, that they were in a few minutes cut off, except an ensign and sixteen privates, who were taken prisoners.

The magazine was blown up in the conflict, which circumstance rendered the howitzers not so great a prize as they otherwise would have been to the victors. General Fawcett, on learning the fate of his advanced guard, ordered his troops to retreat to Duncannon-Fort, whither he also set off in great haste himself.

From Wexford, in the course of the morning, vast crowds of people were observed assembling on the high ground, over Ferrybank, at the country side of the wooden-bridge, which contributed not a little to heighten the alarm already prevailing in the town.



The different posts on the town-wall, were guarded with the utmost vigilance, and entrusted to the protection of the yeomen infantry, supplementaries, and armed inhabitants, while the regular military took station on the grounds surrounding the town. It was expected that General Fawcett, now supposed on his march from Taghmon to Wexford, must fall in with the United Irish, and thus keep them so well employed on that side as to afford a favourable opportunity for a sally from the town to attack them on the other. It was therefore resolved to try the success of this manœuvre, and accordingly General Maxwell, with two thousand infantry, and Colonel Watson, with the Enniscorthy, Healthfield and Shilmalier cavalry, marched out to the encounter.

When the General arrived within cannon shot of the United Irish, he found that the howitzers had been drawn to the top of the ridge, and the shells were thrown at his army with a precision which evinced the operation of some skilful managers. After some discharges of his cannon in return, the General, observing his left flank exposed by the sudden retreat of the Shilmalier cavalry, together with a motion of

the enemy to surround him, and no appearance of General Fawcett, he retired to Wexford, with the loss of Colonel Watson, and many privates who were shot from the outposts of the United Irish. Immediately after this a hasty council of war was held, at which it was determined to evacuate the town.

A general and gloomy consternation now prevailed ; every countenance appeared clouded and distrustful, and every person was cautious and circumspect how he spoke or acted, as all confidence was entirely done away, and each individual thought only of his own personal safety. Some yeomen and supplementaries, who, during the whole of the morning, had been stationed in the street opposite the gaol, were heard continually to threaten to put all the prisoners to death ; which so roused the attention of the gaoler to protect his charge, that he barricaded the door ; and, on hearing of a surrender, to manifest more strongly the sincerity of his intentions, he delivered up the key to Mr Harvey. This gentleman was, indeed, so apprehensive of violence, that he had lain concealed a considerable time, when some gentlemen called upon him, but could not

gain admittance until they gave the strongest assurances of their pacific intentions. Upon being admitted at length, they intreated him to go out to the camp of the United army, and announce to them the surrender of the town, on condition that lives and properties should be spared. Mr. Harvey made answer, that as the United Irish on the Three-rocks were not from his neighbourhood; and as he was not himself at all known to them, he imagined he could have no kind of influence with them, adding, that they might possibly consider him even as an enemy. He was then requested to write to the chiefs, which he declared himself willing to do in any manner that might be judged most advisable; and at their express request, he wrote the following notice to the chiefs of the United army on the mountain of Forth.

“ I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the prisoners. If you pretend to christian charity, do not commit massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants, and spare your prisoners lives.”

“ B. B. HARVEY.

“ WEDNESDAY, 30th MAY, 1798.”

This note was undertaken to be forwarded by Captain Doyle, of the Healthfield cavalry, who offered to volunteer on this hazardous service when the proposal was made to his corps by Colonel Grogan. He had the precaution to put off his uniform, and to dress himself in coloured clothes ; but, when ready to set off, he was discovered to be a Roman catholic, and therefore reflected upon, for so the whisper went about, "*how could a papist be trusted ?*"—The Captain finding his zeal meet with a reception so contrary to his expectation, put on his uniform and retreated with his Colonel ; thus proving himself to the full as loyal as any of those, who, on the occasion, displayed their illiberality, which even common policy, it might be well imagined, should repress at so critical a juncture. Colonel Jacob then proposed the enterprize to his corps, and counsellor Richards with his brother Mr. Loftus Richards, were appointed to go out to the Three-Rocks on this expedition, to announce the surrender of the town to the United army, whose camp they reached in safety, though clad in full uniform.—Scarcely

had these deputies set out upon their mission, when all the military corps, a part of one only excepted, made the best of their way out of town. Every individual of them seemed to partake of the general panic, and set off whithersoever they imagined they could find safety, without even acquainting their neighbours on duty of their intentions.

The principal inhabitants, whose services had been accepted of for the defence of the town, were mostly catholics, and, according to the prevalent system, were subject to the greatest insult and reflexions. They were always placed in front of the posts, and cautioned to behave well, or that death should be the consequence. Accordingly persons were placed behind to keep them to their duty; and these were so watchful of their charge, that they would not even permit them to turn their heads, and yet these determined heroes were the very first to run off on the apprehended approach of real danger. Thus were the armed inhabitants left at their posts, abandoned by their officers, and actually ignorant of the flight of the soldiery, until the latter had been miles out of the town, and were therefore left no possible means, of retreating. Captain Hughes, of the Wexford infantry, with a

few of his corps, was, it seems, the only part of the military, left uninformed of the intended retreat, and this was owing to his being detached with his company to defend a distant part of the town wall, and he and they were apprized of their situation, as were also the armed inhabitants, only by the approach of the United Irish ; so that this corps, together with the armed inhabitants, are the only people that can be said not to have abandoned their posts in Wexford on this occasion. The confusion and dismay which prevailed, was so great, as no kind of signal for retreat had been given, that officers and privates ran promiscuously through the town, threw off their uniforms, and hid themselves wherever they thought they could be best concealed. Some ran to the different quays, in expectation of finding boats to convey them off, and threw their arms and ammunition into the water. All such as could accomplish it, embarked on board the vessels in the harbour, having previously turned their horses loose. Some ran to the gaol to put themselves under the protection of Mr. Harvey. Officers, magistrates, and yeomen, of every description, thus severally endeavoured to escape popular vengeance ; and in the con-

trivance of changing apparel, as there was not a sufficiency of men's clothes at hand for all those who sought safety by this means, female attire was substituted for the purpose of disguise. In short, it is impossible that a greater appearance of confusion, tumult or panic, could be at all exhibited. The Donegal regiment on quitting the barracks set them on fire, which, however, was immediately put out by a number of officers and privates belonging to this regiment, and others remaining in town.

It has been already observed, that thousands of people were seen to assemble, during the entire morning, on a hill over Ferry-bank, marching and counter-marching in hostile appearance, and seemingly waiting only for the moment that the town would be abandoned by the military, to take possession of it themselves; but their entrance, when this took place, was retarded, until boards were procured to supply the place of the flooring of the wooden-bridge, where it had been burnt. In the mean time, Messrs. Richards, after having run great risque, arrived at the camp at Three-rocks, and making known that they were deputed to inform the chiefs, that the town of Wexford would be surrendered to them, on

condition of sparing lives and properties ; these terms would not be complied with, unless the arms and ammunition of the garrison were also surrendered. Mr. Loftus Richards was therefore detained as a hostage, and counsellor Richards and Mr. Fitzgerald were sent back to the town, to settle and arrange the articles of capitulation ; but these gentlemen, on their arrival, to their great astonishment, found the place abandoned by the military. The bridge being at this time nearly made passable, the vast concourse of people that had collected at the other side of the Slaney, was just ready to pour in and take unconditional possession of the town. It was therefore necessary to treat with these, (it being yet unknown who they were,) in order to prevent the mischiefs likely to ensue from such a tumultuous influx of people. The Mayor of the town, therefore, intreated Mr. Fitzgerald to move towards the bridge, and announce to the people rushing in, that the town was surrendered ; and to use every other argument, that his prudence might suggest, to make their entry as peaceable as possible. Mr. Fitzgerald complied, and instantly after this communication, thousands of people poured into the



town, over the wooden-bridge, shouting and exhibiting every mark of extravagant and victorious exultation. They first proceeded to the gaol, released Mr. Harvey, and three hundred prisoners, many of whom were under sentence of death. All the houses in town, not abandoned by the inhabitants, now became decorated with green boughs, or green ornaments of one description or another. The doors were universally thrown open, and the most liberal offers made of spirits and drink of every kind, which however were not as freely accepted, until the persons offering had first drank themselves, as a proof that the liquor was not poisoned, a report having prevailed to that effect ; and which was productive of this good consequence, that it prevented rapid intoxication, and of course, in the beginning, lamentable excesses.

The people having now got complete possession of the town of Wexford, many persons who had been their enemies, after having thrown off their uniforms, affected a cordial welcome for them, and endeavoured, by an exhibition of all the signs and emblems of the United Irishmen, to convince them of their *sworn* friendship ; and it is indeed not a little

remarkable, that many of those, who, in this change of affairs, boldly marched out, as occasion demanded, to meet the King's forces, now display themselves as staunch Orangemen of unimpeachable loyalty! Almost every person in the town threw open their doors with offers of refreshment and accommodation to the insurgents; and the few, who did not, suffered by plunder, their substance being considered as enemies property. Some of all descriptions, indeed, suffered in their property by plunder, on deserting their houses, and leaving none to protect or take care of them. The house of captain Boyd was a singular exception. It was, though not deserted, pillaged, and exhibited marks of the hatred and vengeance of the people.

As the station of the United camp on the Three-rocks, on the eastern end of the mountain of Forth, only three miles from Wexford, commanded a full view of the conflagrations and other excesses committed by the military, it required the utmost exertion and prudential efforts of their chiefs, and of others in whom they placed any confidence, to prevent them from rushing into the town and taking inconsiderate vengeance, being utterly ignorant of

its abandonment by the troops, and unacquainted with the fact of its being possessed by a different party. They entered the town, however, in tolerable temper, but all moderation was banished upon discovering that the arms and ammunition had not been surrendered, so that it was with the utmost difficulty the town was preserved from being set on fire and consumed ; the inhabitants being charged with treason for not insisting on and seeing this article executed. After various scenes of disorder, hurry and confusion, naturally attendant on such occasions, parties were dispatched in vessels armed for the purpose, to bring on shore all the men, arms and ammunition they could find in the ships, and other vessels in the harbour, which in the morning had fallen down towards the bar, neither wind nor tide being favourable ; five only out of the whole had actually sailed for Wales. By these means, all the men, as well military as other inhabitants, were directly brought on shore in the evening, and the vessels with the women and children immediately followed to the quay.

Amidst this scene of tumult and confusion, not easily conceivable to any one who has not

witnessed popular commotion, while all wished to accommodate themselves as much as possible to the exigency of the moment, and to appear the friends of their newly denominated conquerors, it was ludicrous to observe a gorgeous military uniform, clandestinely changed for loathsome, tattered rags, with more address and expedition, than actors on the dramatic stage assume different dresses and appearances.

The town of Wexford was not only most shamefully abandoned, but even surrendered, to all intents and purposes, when it might have been easily defended, although no one will now acknowledge having been concerned in so scandalous a transaction ; and, notwithstanding that the very persons who ought to have been its most strenuous protectors, from their situation and circumstances, were not only the first to yield it and fly so clandestinely, as to put it utterly out of the power of all others besides themselves to retreat ; but left even their own wives and families to the mercy of an irritated and ungovernable multitude. In any other country, such a manifest dereliction of duty would be punished in the most exemplary manner, the lives of such craven deserters would be forfeited for the miseries they occa-

sioned ; but in ill-fated Ireland, a display of unprincipled enmity and illiberal animosity to the great bulk of its people, constitutes loyalty and desert sufficient to wipe away the blame of misconduct, and even to obliterate the indelible stigma of cowardice.

Those of the military who first retreated from Wexford, were the Donegal regiment, commanded by Colonel Snowe, and the Scarawalsh infantry under Colonel Cornock. These, in their flight, met Mr. Colclough with his lady in a phaeton, coming to release Mr. Harvey, by taking his place in the gaol, according to his promise the preceding evening. On falling in with the troops, Mr. and Mrs. Colclough were ordered to wheel about, and led along, while swords drawn and pistols cocked, threatened their lives on either side, if the people should attempt to attack the military. Mr. Colclough was frequently ordered to stand up and wave his hat to several groupes, who were seen collected on the rising grounds, led by curiosity, from the disturbed state of the country, to observe what was going forward. These signals were for the people not to approach, with which they complied, and so the parties got safe to the Scar

at Barry's-town, where Mr. Colclough and his lady were dismissed without further violence. The next division of the military, who made their appearance at the Scar, were part of the Wexford cavalry under the Mayor, who had himself, it seems, at first attempted to get off by sea, but notwithstanding that he most pathetically entreated a friend of his, who had just put off in a boat only a few yards from the quay, to return and take him on board, yet so strongly did the motive of self-preservation operate upon the person, that he refused to comply. The Mayor then seized upon his horse, which he had before turned loose, mounted directly, and overtook General Maxwell upon the road, with whom however he did not continue; but drove forward with all speed, till he arrived at Mr. King's of Barry's-town. After getting some refreshment here, he, and some favourites of his corps, embarked on board a boat, the tide being too high to pass otherwise, and so proceeded in safety to Duncannon-fort. Mr. Colclough met several of these flying gentry and nobility at Barry's-town, and the impression of their fears was such, that they all declared that a revolution must inevitably succeed in the na-

tion, for that as the rising was general, (so they then supposed it to be) nothing could withstand the people.—They even congratulated Mr. Colclough on the happiness of not being obliged to quit his country, as he had taken no active part against the people, and as his recent confinement, on suspicion of being their friend, was greatly in his favour. They next pathetically, many of them in sobs and tears, lamented the unfortunate necessity under which they lay of quitting their native land, as they feared the people would consider their former exertions so inimical to their interests, as to render it unsafe for them ever to return : and after this, they took a cordial leave of Mr. Colclough. The escape of Archibald Hamilton Jacob was most wonderful, as when he had gone out with the troops that advanced toward the Three-rocks, before any others had thoughts of retreating, he got off under the mountain, and by keeping bye-roads, he most providentially arrived in Ross, where, considering the state of the country, he did not stop, but hastened to Waterford, and was finally induced to sail for England.

Had the retreaters the presence of mind to wait at the Scar until the tide should have

fallen, they would have been able to have proceeded with much greater ease than they did to Duncannon-Fort. Their halting there, would probably have enabled many of the stragglers, (numbers of whom were cut off) to come up with them, and it would have taken much less time than it did by the circuitous route which they adopted ; but their panic and trepidation were such, that they believed the United Irish were at their heels, which brought them into great hardships, during a confused and precipitate flight, continued even through the night, which occasioned many to lag behind, who thereby became devoted victims of destruction ; the cause of which we shall presently have occasion to mention. The last of the military that left Wexford, were the 13th foot, commanded by General Maxwell, accompanied by Colonel Colville, and a part of his regiment of the 27th ; the remaining part of the Drogheda regiment, headed by Colonel Foote, the Shilmalier infantry, under the Right Honourable George Ogle, and the Enniscorthy infantry under Captain Pounden, with some of the Wexford infantry, some of the Wexford, Shilmalier, and Enniscorthy cavalry ; and the rear was brought up



ance on so distressing a march, which cost many of them their lives ; but none of the women or children was intentionally hurt by the people : even many children who were abandoned by, or lost their parents, on this occasion, are still remaining in the country, cherished and protected by the inhabitants.

The tide still continuing too high, at the Scar, for even the rear of the retreating troops to pass, they took the like circuitous route with the rest, and arrived at Duncannon-Fort on the morning of the 31st of May ; worn out with hardship and fatigue, having lost a great number of their men, and in the utmost confusion and disorder.

On the night of the 30th, the town of Wexford, considering all that had happened, was remarkably quiet, all finding repose necessary after their various hardships. In the evening vast numbers went to visit their several dwellings in the country, to be informed of the condition of their families and properties ; but very early on the morning of the 31st, the streets were as crowded as before, and the confusion and plunder of the day preceding now recommenced. The people were much displeased with the inhabitants for not detaining

for their use, the arms and ammunition of the garrison ; as the entire of their military stores at this time, amounted to no more than a few barrels of gunpowder found in the barracks, a few thousand of cartridges, with some odd casks and pounds of powder found in shops and gentlemen's houses. Their discontent soon proceeded to threats against different individuals, and, amongst the rest, against Mr. Fitzgerald, who had gone home the night before, and was not as yet returned. He was at once accused of having betrayed the people, vengeance was vowed against him, and he was threatened with instant death. On his appearance soon after, however, the ferment subsided as instantaneously and unaccountably as it had at first originated.

The principal inhabitants of Wexford, very naturally wished to get rid of these troublesome intruders, and to effect this desirable object, such of the humane and considerate chiefs as had influence with the infuriated army, lent their cordial assistance ; and they at length succeeded. The great body were led to the Windmill-hills, where, after a general consultation of the chiefs, they divided into two bo-

dies, one of which, consisting of those who inhabited the Wexford side of the Slaney, marched to Taghmon, under the command of Mr. Devereux. As in such a mixed number, there must be many of all dispositions, it is not wonderful that there were some who would incite to, and practise outrage.

Some straggling parties of this description, hunted for Orangemen, whom they denominated their enemies; while others, imitating the conduct of the King's troops on the day before, but in a far less degree, plundered private property, set fire to many houses, and put one man to death on their way to Taghmon, at which place they formed their encampment. The other division of the army, consisting of the inhabitants of that part of the country north of the Slaney, directed their march towards Gorey, under Mr. Fitzgerald, and in the course of their progress, burned the houses of some whom they considered as enemies, plundered others, and encamped that night on the hill of Carrigrew. The encampment on Vinegar-hill, continued a permanent one during the whole period of the insurrection.

Now, that the revolutionary war was at its height, there existed in the towns no kind of subordination or controul : boisterous individuals assumed the privilege of indulging their own dispositions, and of gratifying private malice. The unruly populace were furious and ungovernable, and many of this description remained in Wexford after the great body of the army had retired from the town : they seized upon, and lodged in the different prisons, many persons from all parts of the surrounding country, who had fled thither for protection, and were now endeavouring to conceal themselves in the different houses of their friends, to escape popular resentment.

Many former piques, however remote or trivial they might have been, were avenged in this manner ; so that on the 31st of May, the gaols of Wexford became absolutely crowded.

On this very day, Mr. Hay, a catholic gentleman of great benevolence and popularity, had invited a number of gentlemen who were apprehensive of popular violence, to an entertainment at his dwelling ; and all these he naturally supposed under effectual protection with him, against popular outrage ;—but he soon had lamentable proof how groundless

were his fond expectations. In the evening, soon after dinner, a great mob of country people assembled in the street before his house, some of whom knocked violently at the door, and insisted that a Mr. Turner and some others, whom they knew to be within, should be delivered up to them, *to be put to death*, for having burned their houses. Mr. Hay, and one or two more, who always had the affection of the people, urged every argument that friendship and humanity for these unhappy victims could suggest, to dissuade them from their dreadful purpose, by which means the multitude was once more induced to retire. It was but for a short time, however, as they quickly came back to the house with more violence and fury than before ; a shot was now fired at the door, as the first notice of their approach, and they reiterated their demand with the loudest and most desperate vociferations. Some of the gentlemen most popular, who on that day dined with Mr. Hay, now came out, and all their united entreaties and remonstrances could obtain from the enraged multitude, was, that those obnoxious to them might be lodged in the gaol to abide their trials ; but the demagogues denounced that if they were not sent thither

directly, Mr. Hay, and some others, must forfeit their lives. This roused the friendly feelings of the victims to be devoted, who had overheard all that passed, and they accordingly requested they might be carried to gaol, as the only place of safety, in their opinion, when neither the house nor interference of so popular a person could insure them protection; as could not indeed the house of any one, at this perturbed period, as those of the greatest abettors and reputed favourites and supporters of the people, were searched and violated, by forcibly taking out of them numbers of people denominated enemies.

These outrages determined many to surrender themselves, in order to be sent to gaol, in hopes of greater security, as well as it induced others to remain in confinement, from similar expectancy of protection from the resentment of their neighbours. From considerations of this nature, Mr. Harvey released from thence every other person not violently accused, and the number was considerable whom he thought to be obnoxious to, but by these means secure, from the intemperate vengeance of the people. During

the first days of this war, any person of previous popular character, could release a friend from confinement, but such interference soon became so displeasing to the people; that most of those who had been thus liberated, were again recommitted, and destruction threatened to any one that would presume again to enlarge them; which prevented numbers from interposing their good offices in favour of such of their friends as had, in any manner, incurred popular odium. Private malice, was, on these occasions, but too frequently exerted, and any accusation was sufficient to cause any person to be sent to gaol; which, however, was esteemed by many the safest asylum, as it was expected, that when popular fury should have abated, the persons confined might be permitted to return quietly to their homes. The only effectual mode of procuring liberation from prison, however, at this period, was to procure a certificate in favour of the prisoner from the neighbourhood in which he lived, and in this way many were set at liberty, who, to secure themselves against future crimination, generally joined the army. As to the power of popularity, at all times precarious, so difficult of attain-

ment, and so easily lost ; and which no truly wise man ever made the scope of his actions, or final object of pursuit, it could effect little in such troublesome and turbulent times as those we are treating of, when an insurrection prevailed, excited by oppression ; and while the minds of the people were sore and desperate from recent irritation. Amidst such a dreadful public ferment, popularity, to a liberal mind, proves a most tyrannical subjugation, as it encumbers the possessor with the oppressive weight of mobbish applause, while it confers not on him the power of relieving a suffering friend, who may have attracted, inadvertantly or otherwise, the deadly resentment of an unbridled populace ; and, what is still more afflicting to generous feelings, the devoted victim of the moment, perhaps imagines the popular friend all-powerful for his preservation, while it is melancholy to reflect, that, on such occasions, it is in the power of a villain to counteract the benevolent intentions, and humane disposition, of the highest respectability, intelligence and virtue !

After the United army, as has been related, moved off in two 'separate divisions from Wexford, there still remained several of their



number in the town, who assumed the office of supplying the camps with necessaries, and this, by their own authority, they declared must be done from Wexford. These self-created commissaries, having put all necessaries accordingly in requisition, began to search all the houses, and, in the course of such survey, plundered them of every article they thought proper, asserting that all they took away was for the general service. Great abuses were consequently committed in this arbitrary mode of levying contributions, and so great a waste of property, particularly of provisions, was made, that the town and its neighbourhood were threatened with a famine. The people of Wexford, therefore, desirous to get rid of these troublesome marauders, and to have some regulations adopted for the prevention of plunder, appointed twelve of the principal inhabitants as a committee, to regulate the distribution of provisions, as well as of all other necessaries in requisition ; and the generous individuals who undertook this arduous task, (it was indeed an Herculean labour,) were actuated by the most virtuous and disinterested motives in their exertions

to protect general as well as individual property.

As whiskey and leather were the articles most in demand in the camps, distillers and tanners especially entreated the committee to issue regular orders for the supplies from their stores, to prevent as much as possible the total destruction of their substance and concerns ; adding, that they were very willing to give up their whole stock for the general service ; yet strange as it may appear, some of this description of persons were most forward afterward in prosecuting those very men, who, by their humane interference, were instrumental in saving their lives and properties ; for certainly the worst consequences were to be apprehended from the indiscriminate plunder, and consequently inordinate consumption of spirituous liquors, by the prevention of which, and other disorders, through indefatigable exertions, the committee actually proved the salvation of the country.

Captain Keugh was appointed military commander and Governor of the town, which was now divided into wards, each of which had a company of men, armed with guns, and these

appointed their own officers. There was a regular parade morning and evening on the custom-house quay ; guards were struck off and relieved, and a pass-word and counter-sign regularly given out. The insurrection had, by this time, become so general in all parts of the county forsaken by the military, that even the inhabitants of the baronies of Forth and Bargy, thought it incumbent on them to shew their disposition and to appear in Wexford ;—in short, every person remaining in the county, thought it best, at this period, to come forward and make common cause with the United Irish. The inhabitants of the last mentioned baronies, however, being a race of men of peaceable and industrious habits, and not having experienced the persecutions practised in other districts, were not easily excited to commit those acts of outrage which took place in other quarters ; but they were at length terribly alarmed and roused to resistance, by the cruel and merciless conduct of the King's forces in their flight from Wexford ; but even then their determination of vengeance appeared solely directed against the body whose unprovoked fury had affected them with injury. These peo-

ple, on their march to Wexford, halted near Johnstown, the seat of Mr. Cornelius Grogan, for whom a party was dispatched to bring him out to join them; and thus was this aged gentleman, the first commoner in the kingdom, constrained to accommodate himself to the crazy temper of the times; and, being placed on horseback, then ill of the gout, he was conducted along by the multitude, consisting of several thousands on foot, and many hundreds of horsemen. On their entrance into the town, and defiling through the streets, not many pikes could be seen, but vast numbers were equipt with spits, pitch-forks, and such like offensive weapons, with which they endeavoured, as much as in their power, to imitate and assume the appearance of pike-men; and after having shouted, and paraded for some time through the streets, they retired peaceably to their homes, without committing further outrage. All the forges both in town and country, were instantly employed in the fabrication of pike-blades, and timber of every description, fit for handles, was procured for that purpose wherever to be found; so that in a very short time, no person could be seen, (so general was the principle of

arming,) without a warlike weapon of some kind, a green cockade, a hatband, sash, or other ornament of that colour. Several sloops and oyster-boats were fitted out in the harbour, and manned, to cruise outside the bay; and these, from time to time, brought in several vessels, mostly bound for Dublin, laden with oats, potatoes, and different other kinds of provisions; which became very seasonable supplies for the town, that must otherwise have suffered great distress, as the markets were deserted by the country people.

The fort of Roslare, situate at the entrance of the harbour, was mounted with cannon to prevent any ships of war from passing, or entering the harbour of Wexford; and a number of brigs, sloops, and small craft, were ready to be scuttled and sunk in the channel, to prevent any such armed vessel, in the event of her passing the fort, from approaching the town.

Money seemed to have vanished during the war, as no person was willing to admit being possessed of any currency exclusive of bank-notes, which were held in such little estimation, that great quantities of them were

inconsiderately destroyed; some in lighting tobacco pipes, and others used as waddings for firelocks; but, whatever little provisions appeared at market, sold very cheaply for ready money; for instance, butter sold by the pound for two pence, and butchers' meat, of any kind, for one penny. As to bank-notes, any one might starve who had no other means of procuring the prime necessities, for which, when offered for sale, nothing but specie would be accepted as payment. Every endeavour was made to have the markets well supplied and attended; but even at the cheap rate just stated, there were scarcely any purchasers; so unwilling did every one appear to acknowledge the possession of money; but it must be mentioned, that indeed the necessity of purchasing at market, was in a great measure superseded; for among the various duties of the committee, one was that of supplying every person in town with provisions. On application to them, every house was furnished with a ticket, specifying the number of inhabitants, and all persons, even the wives and families of those considered the greatest enemies of the

people, were indiscriminately included; and every person sent with a ticket to the public stores, appointed for that purpose, received a proportionate quantity of meat, flour, potatoes, and other necessaries, free of any expence.

In the country, the people formed themselves generally into parish divisions, and each division elected its own officers. All persons capable of carrying arms, were to attend the camps, on being furnished with pikes or guns, as either could be best procured; some on foot, and others on horseback, as they could best accommodate themselves. Most persons were desirous to wear uniforms and ornaments of some kind or other: green was the most favourite and predominant colour, but on failure of this, blue was substituted; and as to their flags or ensigns, they were also green, or of a dark greenish hue, decorated with many emblematical figures, denoting the abolition of monarchy. Many damsels of superior rank, made offerings of embroidered colours for the public service, and to make these gifts the more acceptable, they usually decorated them according to their different fancies, and

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from the variety thus exhibited, there appeared not many similar banners in the whole. Several of the loyal ladies, too, whose families were most obnoxious both in town and country, displayed their taste in richly and fancifully ornamenting ensigns, to ingratiate themselves with the people, and their chiefs; but many of them, not having time to perfect their *chef d'ouvres* before the war was suppressed, have since most probably thought it prudent to destroy these and the like specimens of elegant accomplishments, at which numbers of them were earnestly employed, during the period of popular triumph. But we must return to events which occurred in other parts of the country.

After the battle of Oulard, which was fought on the 27th of May, as already detailed, the regular military distinguished themselves in the northern part of the country, by falling on the defenceless and unoffending populace, of whom they slew some hundreds. It being Whitsunday, the people were, as usual, going to their chappels to attend divine service, when many of them were led by curiosity, which is generally excited by the report of fire-arms, to ascend different eminences, from which the



dreadful and horrid scenes of devastation by fire and sword, prevailing through the country round, as far as the eye could reach, was presented to their astonished and affrighted view ; and as the different groupes thus collected, were perceived by the King's troops, these pursued and cut them down. The most inoffensive were most likely to suffer by this mode of quieting disturbances, because, conscious of their innocence, they made no effort to avoid the sudden fate which they had no reason to apprehend. Even many who remained within their houses, did not fare better than their more curious or less fearful neighbours, as numbers of them were called out and shot at their own doors : nay, some infirm and decrepid old men were plunged into eternity by these valorous guardians and preservers of the public peace ! — On every occasion, however, they were not inexorable to the piteous petitions for life, as a sum of money, properly offered, and timely presented, saved some.

These people, on surrendering their pikes and other offensive weapons and arms, fondly imagined that they had secured themselves protection, and were, therefore, not at all apprehensive of attack, but they soon found them-

selves miserably mistaken. Had their intentions been for violence, they would naturally have assembled in a large body on some commanding hill, as the other United Irish did, where they would have appeared formidable ; so that their having collected into numberless small groupes, is certainly to be deemed rather the effect of curiosity than the effort of insurrection.

Great numbers of people, taking their families and such of their effects as they could conveniently transport thither, along with them, fled for refuge into Gorey, where a general panic however prevailed, although, besides a considerable force of the regular military, a regiment of the Clare militia, together with the Ballaghkeen, Coolgreny, Arklow, Northshire, and Coolatin corps of cavalry ; the Finnahely and Wingfield corps of infantry, were stationed there ; but notwithstanding, on a rumour that the United Irish were approaching, it was determined to abandon the town, and proceed to Arklow ; but, previous to its evacuation, a number of men, taken out of their beds, were brought, and butchered most inhumanly in the streets. By order of the magistrates,

however, upwards of two hundred prisoners were released from the gaol and market house, and many of them received protections, which they placed in their hats, in order to exhibit as conspicuously as possible ; but this precaution did not prevent them being shot by other parties of the military, whom they fell in with on their way home. The order for evacuation being announced at five o'clock in the morning of the 28th, a distressing scene of trepidation and confusion ensued. Affrighted crowds of people might be seen running in all directions, preparing for flight ; while such as could, were harnessing their horses, and placing their families on cars, with the utmost precipitation, all endeavouring to escape from the town as speedily as possible. The road was soon thronged to a great extent, with a train of cars, which were loaded with women and children, accompanied by a vast multitude on foot, among whom were many women with their children on their back ; and from the continued heat and drought of the weather, the dust excited by this crowded procession, distressfully obstructed respiration.

By this abandonment of Gorey, the whole of the surrounding country was left entirely exposed, and yet the United Irish did not attempt, at this time, to approach the town, but remained in their encampment on the hill of Carrigrew; nor did the inhabitants of this quarter then rise to join in the insurrection; but strictly observed, on their part, the promises they had made to the magistrates on surrendering their arms.

While Gorey was thus abandoned by the Royal army, and by such as were allowed, or for whom it would be safe to accompany them, it was filled with the property and effects of the fugitives, yet no plunder was committed, and no disturbance took place, so that on their return, they found all belonging to them in perfect security, having been protected by those that remained in the town.

As the main body of the United Irish had bent their march toward the southern parts, Gorey remained unmolested, though destitute of defence. On the 30th and 31st of May, the greater part of the fugitives returned from Arklow to their homes, and

the whole of the army, who had abandoned Gorey on the 28th, resumed their station in it.

Different parties of the Royal army went out from the town, ransacked the houses through the country, brought away as much as they could carry, driving off numbers of cattle. Indeed, they were not very exact or scrupulous as to individual property, for they brought off all the cattle they could collect in the country, and took up bacon, cheese, butter, and provisions of all kinds, wherever they found them; and to crown all, they took a great number of men prisoners, to supply the place of those that were liberated in the commencement of the flight: so that this must be acknowledged, if not valorous, at least very active service.

On the morning of the 1st of June, an independent, or self-constituted body of United Irish, unknown to any of the three general encampments of Vinegar-hill, Taghmon, and Carrigrew, proceeded on a secret expedition to Newtown-barry (anciently called Bunclody) garrisoned by the 27th regiment of foot, the King's county militia,

~~and two~~ corps of cavalry. This body of United Irish, having divided into two divisions, made a furious attack on both sides of the river Slaney, on the western bank whereof lies the town, and of which they were soon left in possession by the precipitate retreat and surrender of the regular forces.

On this day, also, a party of the army from Vinegar-Hill, proceeded to join those encamped at Carrigrew, whose numbers were greatly lessened by desertions for home.

They were now, however, mustering pretty strongly all over the country, intending to assemble their collective force on the hill of Ballymenare; but, while moving forward in a detached and disorderly manner, they were met by eleven hundred of the King's forces from Gorey.

These, by preserving their order, had great advantage in this unexpected rencounter, over the people, who retreated with some loss and in disorder; leaving behind a great number of horses, which were brought into Gorey, together with the plunder of many houses, which were burnt after despoiling.

From the inactivity of the army encamped at Carrickbyrne, occasioned in a great degree from their want of an ostensible commander, constant sallies were made out of Ross, and great havoc and devastation committed throughout the country. These occurrences produced a general meeting of the principal chiefs on the first of June, wherein Mr. Harvey was called on to act as generalissimo, with Messrs. Colclough and Devereux, as his seconds in command, and various other appointments and regulations took place for the maintenance and supply of the country.

The day after, Mr. Harvey took the command in person at Carrickbyrne, where, on his arrival, several fugitives appeared, giving dreadful accounts of their sufferings from the Royal army, and at the time, several houses were on fire about Old Ross. The Commander in Chief instantly ordered all the cavalry that could be collected, to proceed against the depredators, who fled on their approach, and were chased in full speed to Ross.

On the 2nd of June, as the little fleet already noticed, was cruising outside the harbour of Wexford, they fell in with a sloop from Ark-

low, which upon being hailed, came to, and was taken. On board this vessel were three officers of the North Cork militia, Lord Kingsborough the Colonel, Captain O'Hea, and Lieutenant Bourke, who were accordingly made prisoners and conveyed to gaol. This nobleman, and these his officers, were in Dublin when informed of the defeat of their regiment at Oulard, as before stated, and immediately purposed to join it, for which purpose, proceeding by land as far as Arklow, and finding the insurrection more formidable than they could be brought before to imagine, they there hired a vessel to bring them to Wexford, not conceiving it possible that it had been abandoned and then in the hands of the conspirators.

The people of the barony of Forth, having by this time sufficiently equipped themselves with guns and pikes, joined the encampment now formed on the hill of Carrickbyrne, whither, it must be observed, the army of the camp near Taghman, had shifted on the first of June. A small party from Wexford, also, denominated the Faith Corps, joined the encampment on Carrigrew.



The King's military, stationed at Gorey, made constant sallies, in the course of which through the country, they plundered and burned many houses, and shot some hundreds of stragglers, who happened to fall in their way. This provoked the United army to vie with their opponents in this mode of warfare; and retaliation, has on this, as on every other occasion, produced many woeful scenes. Enormities, in fact, were committed on both sides, which, among their many lamentable consequences, tended to exasperate the party animosities, already too powerfully destructive of the peace and happiness of the country. At this time reinforcements were every day crowding into Gorey. On the 3d of June, general Loftus arrived there with five thousand men under his command, as did also General Walpole from Carnew, whence he had several times gone out to reconnoitre the camp at Carrigrew. A determination was formed to attack this on the 4th, with the force then in Gorey, with which the troops from Carnew and Newtown-barry were to co-operate, so as to engage the United Irish on all sides, and from these arrangements, and considering the

force that was to act against them, little doubt was entertained of their total and speedy defeat. The army from Gorey marched out at the appointed time, and formed into two divisions. The one under General Loftus, took route towards Ballycanew; while the other, commanded by General Walpole, proceeded, by the Camolin road, directly to commence the concerted attack on Carrigrew. The United army, had, however, quitted this post, and were in full march towards Gorey, when they suddenly and unawares fell in with this military body under General Walpole, at a place called Tubberneering. The meeting was equally unexpected on both sides, and this circumstance, no less true than extraordinary, neither party having any scouts, produced an instantaneous and confused action, in which General Walpole was killed in a few minutes after its commencement, and his troops immediately gave way and fled in the utmost precipitation and disorder, leaving the victors in possession of nine pieces of cannon, two six pounders, and another of inferior size. The fate of this

action was so quickly decided, as to allow General Loftus not the smallest opportunity of affording the troops under General Walpole, any assistance. The loss of the military in killed and wounded, was considerable, besides a number of officers, with many privates, taken prisoners. The rest, in the greatest possible haste, being pursued by the United Irish, reached Gorey, which they as quickly passed through; but would, in revenge, have put the prisoners in the town to death, had they not feared that the delay it would occasion, might cost them too dearly. This account is from one of the Colonels, who opposed with all his might, the perpetration of such a cruel and barbarous deed, and who, to his honour, was incapable of countenancing such an atrocity under any circumstances. The retreat was thence very precipitate to Arklow, where a council of war was hastily held, at which it was, as hastily determined to abandon that town, and this was accordingly put into immediate execution. Some were so panic-struck, that they did not stop till they reached Dublin, but others stopped at different distances, when their horses or themselves were not able

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to proceed farther. General Loftus, on hearing the report of cannon and other fire arms, in the engagement, not being able to go across the country, he proceeded round by the road to the scene of action, where he found the bodies of many slain, and did not learn the fate of General Walpole till he saw him stretched on the field of battle. He then moved towards Gorey, but thought it most prudent to alter his line of direction, upon being saluted by the United Irish with the cannon they had just taken, and which they had drawn up to the summit of the hill of Gorey, which is immediately over the town, commanding it in every quarter. The general then marched to Carnew and from that to Tullow. The troops that had proceeded from Carnew in the morning, to co-operate in the intended general attack on the United army at Carrigrew, did not return thither upon hearing of the defeat, but made Newtown-barry with those who had come out from thence on the same expedition.

On the evening of the 4th of June, the United Irish stationed on the hill of Carrickbyrne, whither the Taghmon army, led by Mr. John Devereux jun. was transferred on the 1st, now proceeded to Corbet-hill, within a mile of the

town of Ross, the garrison of which had lately received great reinforcements, by the arrival there of the Donegal, Clare and Meath regiments, a detachment of English and Irish artillery, the 5th dragoons, and the Dublin militia, all under the command of General Johnson, who expected an attack during the night, and consequently the troops remained under arms, without being allowed to take any repose.

The United army, headed by their Commander in Chief, Mr. Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, a little after their arrival on Corbet-hill, were saluted with a few cannon-shot and bomb-shells from the town, without producing any other effect than that of increasing their vigilance. Mr. Harvey, and his principal Generals, took up their quarters in the house of Corbet-hill, where, after holding a short consultation, it was determined to attack the town in three different points at once, and accordingly Mr. Furlong, the General's chief Aide-camp, was dispatched at the break of day, with a flag of truce, and the following summons, to the commanding officer at Ross :—

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*Camp at Corbet-Hill, June 5th, 1798.*

"SIR,

"As a friend to humanity, I request you  
"will surrender the town of Ross to the Wex-  
"ford forces now assembled against that town.  
"Your resistance will but provoke rapine and  
"plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent.  
"Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces,  
"now innumerable and irresistible, will not  
"be controuled if they meet with any resist-  
"ance: to prevent, therefore, the total ruin of  
"all property in the town, I urge you to a  
"speedy surrender, which you will be forced  
"to do in a few hours, with loss and blood-  
"shed, as you are surrounded on all sides.  
"Your answer is required in four hours. . Mr.  
"Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the  
"answer.

I am Sir, &c. &c.

B. B. HARVEY."

Mr. Furlong was shot the moment he ap-  
proached the out-posts, which so exasperated  
the people, that they could not be restrained  
from instantly rushing on to attack the Three-  
bullet-gate, being the part of the town next to  
them; and this it was, that principally pre-

vented the concerted plan of assault from being carried into execution ; as three divisions of their forces were to have begun their operations against different parts of the town at the same time. This particular division, therefore, not waiting 'till the other two should have reached their several stations of action, the latter not only did not proceed, but were seized with such a panic, that they dispersed all over the country, flying in all directions to their several homes, and bearing as they went along, the tidings of a total defeat. This retreat was occasioned by the example of Mr. James Redmond, one of the divisional generals, who, without the least effort to answer the intent of his appointment, ordered his division to retreat hastily from the field of action. Even in the town of Wexford, nineteen miles distant from Ross, the news of a defeat was announced at an early hour in the day, by many fugitives, who had taken that direction, relating various and strange adventures, to account for their own precipitate flight. One third of the numbers that encamped on Corbet-hill, the evening before, amounting to twenty-seven thousand men, did not stand in the morning of the day of action, so that even the division under Mr.

Devereux, who commenced and afterwards continued the assault, was by no means complete; numbers of those who constituted it, having also abandoned their stations, which were far from being adequately supplied by such of the two panic-struck divisions, as had the courage and resolution to join in the battle then going forward, and in its greatest heat. From this statement, however, it must appear, that the original plan was not pursued, and whatever the United army accomplished in the onset, must have been from individual courage and intrepidity. They first dislodged the Royal army from their entrenchments outside the town, where they were very advantageously posted, and on this occasion, the cavalry in their charges, were repulsed with dreadful slaughter. The regular military then retreated from their entrenchments into the town, pursued warmly by the United Irish, who obliged them to move from one situation to another, until they at last, drove them over the great bridge on the Barrow, into the county of Kilkenny.

When the United Army had thus got possession of the town, they fell to plundering and drinking, on which they became so intent,



that they could not be brought on by their generals to follow up their advantage. In the mean time, the Royal army rallied on the county of Kilkenny side of the bridge; and, although a retreat was before determined on, yet they were induced to return upon perceiving that there was no pursuit, and besides they were powerfully instigated to this, by the timely reinforcements of some Scotch and British troops, just landed from England.

The county of Dublin militia on hearing of the death of their favourite colonel, Lord Mountjoy, were the first to renew the attack under the command of Major Vesey. Their example was followed by the rest of the troops, and their united efforts shortly compelled such of the United Irish as were not too drunk, to fly out of the town, of which they had been, by this time, some hours in possession. Having respired a little, however, from their hasty retreat, which in a great degree made them sober, they again returned to the charge, and the contest which now ensued, was maintained on both sides with great obstinacy, both parties being induced, by experience of the former encounter, not to relax their exertions. The intrepidity of the United Irish, was truly aston-

ishing, as notwithstanding the dreadful havoc made in their ranks by the artillery, they rushed up to the very mouths of the cannon, regardless of the numbers that were falling on all sides of them, and pushed forward with such impetuosity, that they obliged the army to retire once more, and leave the town to themselves. But even after this, they soon fell into the same misconduct as before, crowning their bravery with drunkenness. Of this the proper advantage was quickly taken by the Royal army, who again renewed the attack, by which they finally became perfect masters of the town. Several houses were set on fire and consumed in the course of this and the former attack, but one of these deserves particular notice: this was a slated house, four stories high, on the summit of the main street, near Christ's church, in which ninety-five persons were burnt to ashes; none having escaped but one man, who in running off, was fortunate enough to escape, though fired upon by the soldiery. On the evening of the preceding Wednesday, Mr. Cullimore, a quaker, wishing to visit his family at his country-house, a short distance from the town, was taken prisoner as he attempted to

pass the patrols, brought in, and confined in the market-house, from which he was not released on the day of battle, as if it were by the special interference of providence; for some of the regular military, when they imagined the day was going against them, had resolved to put all the prisoners in the town to death; but, when a party of those on guard, entered the place of confinement, for this inhuman purpose, Mr. Cullimore addressed them with such an authoritative and impressive tone, saying, "*You shall not shoot the prisoners;—there are some men here as loyal as you are.*" This address and manner of a better man than Marius, awed and overcame the sanguinary slaves, so that they retired without perpetrating the horrid crime of their bloody intent!

A great number of officers and privates, of the King's troops, in the various success of the day, were induced, from time to time, to attempt a retreat to Waterford through the county of Kilkenny. Some of these succeeded in their efforts, and from their unfavourable accounts of the battle, the Roscommon militia, who were in full march toward Ross, turned about for Waterford. Colonel Dillon,

with some of his regiment, were intercepted, and put to death in their progress, by the country people, who on sight of the fugitives, and on the report of the success of the United army, were making every preparation, and nearly in readiness to join them.

The United forces being upbraided by their Chiefs for sullyng their bravery by drunkenness, made a third attempt to regain the town, and in this they displayed equal valour with what they exhibited in the earlier part of the day ; but by this time the King's army, having received fresh reinforcements, had acquired a degree of confidence in their own strength. While several houses blazed in tremendous conflagration, the United Irish received an irreparable loss, by the sudden fall of sixteen leading chiefs, which put an end to their career of victory ! Paralysed by the loss and exertions of so many brave officers, and no longer able to withstand the violence of the flying artillery, the United army, after an engagement of above ten hours, sounded a regular retreat, bringing away some cannon, taken from the Royal army in the course of the action. The United forces after their defeat, returned to

their former station, having encamped this night at Carrick-byrne.

In this battle both armies lost four thousand men. Indeed, it is impossible to ascertain the actual loss of the people during the action, as the number of dead are said to be doubly accumulated by those who were killed unarmed and unresisting after it was all over. Many men had become so intoxicated in the course of the day, that they were incapable of flying out of the town in the retreat of their associates, and several of the inhabitants, whose houses were burnt, and having therefore no place to retire to, fell victims alike as straggling insurgents, to the undistinguishing fury of the irritated soldiery, from which no person could escape who was not clad in military attire of one kind or other. The following day, also, the few houses that remained unburnt in the suburbs, being the only places that a common person could get into, were closely searched, and not a man discovered in them left alive. Some houses were set on fire even so thronged, that the corpses of the suffocated within them, could not fall to the ground, but continued crowded together in an upright posture, until they were taken out to be interred.

We cannot suppose that these horrid massacres and conflagrations, were committed in revenge for the infernal abomination perpetrated at Scullabogue, of which we shall have occasion presently to make mention, as no intelligence of that lamentable event could have reached Ross at the time ; but be that as it may, officers of the first rank were not only present, but even promoted and encouraged those deeds of dreadful enormity, of which every breast not dead to humane feeling must shudder at the recital !

It is an invariable maxim, that cowardice and cruelty are very closely allied. This was most strongly exemplified by the barbarous conduct of the run-away murderers who fled from the battle of Ross to Scullabogue, where a number of prisoners were confined in a barn, to which these savage miscreants (having overpowered and murdered some of the guards, who resisted them as long as they could) set fire, and made every person within its walls, nearly one hundred in number, perish in the flames !

It is alledged on the part of the sanguinary ruffians, concerned in this most detestable transaction, that it was in retaliation for like

deeds of desperate cruelty practised against themselves, and irritated as they were from recent experience of persecutions and tortures of every kind ;—whippings, strangulations, and hangings without trial, which some of the party had narrowly escaped a few days before in Ross, where these measure were very prevalent : but no incentive, no persecution, no experience of cruelty, can palliate, much less excuse such unnatural and detestable atrocity. It is but justice, however, to observe, that in this horrid transaction, no person of superior condition, none above the mere *canaille*, or lowest description of men, was at all concerned ; but infamy of this indelible nature, should never so much as glance but at its proper objects. Were the fact otherwise than as here stated, it must have been notoriously manifested in the course of the several trials since had in consequence of the very enormity, and for which some miscreants have been justly doomed to execution. But truth imposes the task of mentioning also, that it has appeared, from solemn evidence given on those trials, that in consequence of the United Irish being disappointed in their expectation of taking quiet possession of Ross, their flag of truce

being shot, and after the attack, the fugitives from the town communicating accounts of the tortures practised there, and that no quarter would be given to the people, an infuriate multitude of men and women rushed to Scullabogue, vociferating revenge, forced the guards, (who did all in their power to protect their charge) and set fire to the prison, which was a thatched house; and for this transaction, General Johnson has not escaped animadversion, as it is said he was repeatedly warned to spare the people, or they would resort to retaliation, by executing all the prisoners in their hands; and if giving quarter would have prevented the fatality at Scullabogue, humanity excites a wish it had been given!—It is material to observe, also, that these trials have disclosed information manifesting a very strong feature characteristic of popular commotion, which is, that the unbridled multitude are as precipitate as indiscriminate in their deeds of outrage, putting them into execution as soon as conceived, to prevent the possibility of counteraction. This is, in fact, so true, that very often the greatest favourites cannot escape the instantaneous violence of popular fury. Although this cannot be considered as an excuse, nothing being capable of



palliating, much less excusing the crime at Scullabogue, yet its guilt would be greatly aggravated, did it appear a deliberate or pre-meditated action, in which any one above the meanest vulgar was concerned.

Scullabogue is situated at the foot of the eminence of Carrick-byrne, whither the United Irish, defeated at Ross, retreated as has been observed, and upon being made acquainted with the enormity, which all brave men must reprobate, they universally and loudly expressed their horror and detestation of the barbarous deed!—Surely, it is easy to conceive, that the men who had so lately displayed such a dauntless spirit of courage and consummate bravery, could not be destitute of its general concomitant, humanity.

An investigation of this horrid transaction, was entered into the following day, when many of the lower class were apprehended, on suspicion of being concerned in it. On the same day, a proclamation, in the form of resolutions, by the whole United army, was published by the Commander in Chief, signed by himself, and countersigned by the Adjutant-General, with intention to curb all excesses against life

and property, and encouraging, by every possible means, union and harmony among all descriptions of the people. It is as follows :

*“ At a meeting of the General, and several Officers of the United Army of Ireland, the following Resolutions were agreed upon :*

*“ RESOLVED, That the Commander in Chief shall send guards to certain baronies, for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering and delaying at home, or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards, so to be sent by the Commanding Officer’s orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance, shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose; and all such persons found to be so loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from among the Commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.*

*“ Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death,*

“ unless authorised to quit by written orders  
“ from the Commander in Chief for that purpose.  
“ pose.

“ It is also ordered, that a guard shall be  
“ kept in rear of the different armies, with orders  
“ to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert  
“ from any engagement ; and that these  
“ orders shall be taken notice of by all officers  
“ commanding in such engagement.

“ All men refusing to obey their superior  
“ officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and  
“ punished according to their sentence.

“ It is also ordered, that all men who shall  
“ attempt to leave their respective quarters,  
“ when they have been halted by the Commander  
“ in Chief, shall suffer death, unless  
“ they shall have leave from their officers for  
“ so doing.

“ It is ordered by the Commander in Chief,  
“ that all persons who have stolen or taken  
“ away any horse or horses, shall immediately  
“ bring in all such horses to the camp, at  
“ head-quarters ; otherwise, for any horse that  
“ shall be found in the possession of any person  
“ to whom he does not belong, that per-

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“ son, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer  
“ death :

“ And any goods that shall have been plun-  
“ dered from any house, if not brought in to  
“ head-quarters, or returned immediately to  
“ the houses or owners, that all persons so  
“ plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being con-  
“ victed thereof, suffer death..

“ It is also resolved, that any person or per-  
“ sons, who shall take upon them to kill or  
“ murder any person or prisoner, burn any  
“ house, or commit any plunder, without spe-  
“ cial written orders from the Commander in  
“ Chief, shall suffer death.

“ GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.”

“ B.B. HARVEY, Commander in Chief.

“ FRANCIS BREEN, Sec. and Adj.”

“ Head-Quarters, Carrick-byrne }  
“ Camp, June 6th, 1798.” }

Proclamations of a similar tendency, were issued by all the Baronial Generals, addressed to their different divisions, exhorting them to humanity, and calling on them to use every exertion in apprehending the savage miscreants concerned in the late abominable massacre ! To give a just idea of these proclama-

tions, we insert another of the Commander in Chief's addresses to the United armies on the 7th of June.

## TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

“ COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS !

“ Your patriotic exertions in the cause of  
“ your country, have hitherto exceeded your  
“ most sanguine expectations, and in a short  
“ time must ultimately be crowned with suc-  
“ cess. Liberty has raised her drooping head ;  
“ thousands daily flock to her standard ; the  
“ voice of her children every where prevails.  
“ Let us, then, in the moment of triumph, re-  
“ turn thanks to the almighty Ruler of the  
“ universe, that a total stop has been put to  
“ those sanguinary measures, which of late  
“ were but too often resorted to by the crea-  
“ tures of government, to keep the people in  
“ slavery.

“ Nothing, now, my countrymen, appears  
“ necessary to secure the conquests you have  
“ already won, but an implicit obedience to  
“ the commands of your chiefs ; for, through  
“ a want of proper subordination and disci-  
“ pline, all may be endangered.

“ At this eventful period, all Europe must  
 “ admire, and posterity will read with aston-  
 “ ishment, the heroic acts achieved by people  
 “ strangers to military tactics, and having  
 “ few professional commanders : but what pow-  
 “ er can resist men fighting for liberty !

“ In the moment of triumph, my country-  
 “ men, let not your victories be tarnished with  
 “ any wanton act of cruelty : many of those  
 “ unfortunate men now in prison, were not  
 “ your enemies from principle ; most of them,  
 “ compelled by necessity, were obliged to op-  
 “ pose you ; neither let a difference in religious  
 “ sentiments, cause a difference among the  
 “ people. Recur to the debates in the Irish  
 “ House of Lords on the 19th of February  
 “ last, you will there see a patriotic and en-  
 “ lightened protestant bishop, (Down, and  
 “ many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence,  
 “ pleading for catholic emancipation and par-  
 “ liamentary reform, in opposition to the  
 “ haughty arguments of the Lord-Chancellor,  
 “ and the powerful opposition of his fellow-  
 “ courtiers.

“ To promote a union of brotherhood and  
 “ affection among our countrymen of all reli-

“gious persuasions, has been our principal  
 “object: we have sworn in the most solemn  
 “manner—we have associated for this lauda-  
 “ble purpose, and no power on earth shall  
 “shake our resolution.

“To my protestant soldiers I feel much in-  
 “debted for their gallant behaviour in the  
 “field, where they exhibited signal proofs of  
 “bravery in the cause.

“GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.”

“B. B. HARVEY.”

“Wexford, June 7th, 1798.”

It should have been mentioned before, that in the evening of the day on which the United army obtained possession of Enniscorthy, a drummer of the North Cork militia, who had some time before refused to beat his drum, when some tune, obnoxious to the people, was called for, or to whip some of the prisoners, was found hanging in the lodgings of Mr. Handcock, a clergyman and magistrate, who resided in that town!—When this fact became generally known, it is impossible to conceive the indignation and fury it excited in the minds of the populace, already flushed with victory, and heated by intoxication. They considered the murdered soldier as a victim

immolated to their cause ;—they conceived he had met that fate to which they were all doomed unless they had risen against extermination. The more violent, were those, who themselves or their friends had suffered most severely, previous to the insurrection, and they instantly took advantage of the ferment occasioned by this circumstance, to wreak their vengeance on those they considered their enemies, who still remained in the town after it had been evacuated by the Royal army. Many were put to death in consequence, notwithstanding that the more sensible and humane part endeavoured to protect the unhappy sufferers, but the voice of those were drowned in the general cry of “ They would not let one of us escape if we were in their power ; “ we should be all served like the drummer.” Many who were present when this horrid scene took place, affirm that this incident produced an effect more violent and instantaneous, and excited a degree of frenzy superior to any thing they had witnessed during the commotions. It is evident, from every day’s experience, that causes, insignificant in themselves, do sometimes produce effects the most lamentable ; and that low artful men take advantage of such incidents in all tumultuary proceedings ;



and, considering the state of mind of the populace at this moment, the knowledge of such a fact must have had a powerful operation.—It is remarkable that Mr. Hinton's house, in which the drummer was found hanging, received no injury from the people, as they considered him innocent of this inhuman transaction.

While the United army kept possession of the town of Enniscorthy, another circumstance occurred, which produced much mischief. The King's cavalry of Newtown-Barry, made an inroad towards the United camp, as far as the bridge of Scarawalsh, which is three miles from Enniscorthy, and at this place killed a boy who was an idiot: he happened to be the nephew of a catholic priest in the neighbourhood; and the killing of this harmless creature, who never could have made use of hostile weapons, produced a violent ferment, which was not appeased until the people sacrificed, (as if to his *manes*) twelve or fourteen of their prisoners. These facts, if any are wanting, show the impolicy and wickedness of shedding blood unnecessarily, even in the fury of war.—The principle of retaliation is strongly implanted in the human heart, and therefore all unnecessary irritation should be sedulously avoided.

A Guinea cutter having struck against the banks of Blackwater, unshipped her rudder outside the bay of Wexford, where she cast anchor ; and the captain on entering the harbour, to get it repaired, was met by one of the cruising boats, and the vessel was accordingly seized and brought in as a prize. She had on board a few barrels of gunpowder, without which the United Irish would have been totally destitute of that article, as their original stock, was, by this time, entirely expended. It is, indeed, an extraordinary fact, that the popular army did not possess, in the whole course of the war, as much powder as would be deemed necessary, by any military man, for the supply of one battle, and that their gunsmen, so little used to warfare, never retired until they had fired their last charge, exhibiting on all occasions, amazing intrepidity ; but it was impossible to furnish fire-arms for the numbers offering their services. In their different encampments they were mostly armed with pikes..

Although most of the people of Ireland can but seldom indulge in the luxury of eating meat, yet as the vast numbers of them were now to be supplied with this article, it became

act in any manner contrary to the will of the populace. It has been confidently asserted, and too strongly inculcated, that the insurgents were resolved to sacrifice all protestants; of this, the best refutation is, that had this been their intention, the accomplishment was in their power, and the avoiding its perpetration at the angry and exasperated moment, must be considered conclusive in opposite argument. Indeed, it is too evident, that this falsehood has been industriously impressed for the purpose of fostering prejudice, and of continuing baleful division among the several descriptions of the people, by the government, who shamefully encourage and foment those animosities, which have brought so much calamity and ruin on the country; of which, if any Irishman requires further proof, the eventful history of his country, since the period of 1798, is abundantly convincing; and it is to be hoped, that the charitable discrimination of all Irishmen, will induce them to abandon their prejudices, and cultivate a friendly intercourse with each other, and they will find this line of conduct connected and congenial with their true interests and happiness, as it will prevent their being cajoled, or worked up, at any future period,

to mutual rancour, to answer the ends of political seducers, as the destruction of their country must be the consequence. All protestants who had the good will of their neighbours, and who had not adventured in the hanging, burning, flogging, shooting and exterminating system, that immediately preceded the insurrection, were, in general, as safe as any other description of men in the country on joining the people, for as to this there was no alternative; but, it must be acknowledged, indeed, that many gentlemen, who had been formerly much liked, were considered as unpardonable if concerned in any exertion against the people of the description just cited, particular instances of which, alledged against them, occasioned the imprisonment and death of individuals.

If any catholics had launched forward in the prevalent mode of suppressing insurrection, namely, violation, flagellation, conflagration, deliberate murder, and extermination, they would certainly have incurred equal odium with any protestant, or even infidel, guilty of the like deeds. Catholics, however, not being of the privileged class, (not even one catholic justice of peace in the country,) and therefore, not having the power, if they had the inclina-

tion, could not be generally involved with the people, on the score of authority or oppression, and this may satisfactorily account why so few catholics, comparatively with protestants, were sacrificed to popular frenzy and irritation. In all the proclamations, and other documents, published during the insurrection, there does not appear the smallest symptom of religious bigotry ; the very contrary is even manifest ; but should it be any longer insisted on, that the conduct and expressions of solitary individuals, unequivocally discountenanced by the great majority, were the sentiments of the whole people, it must be stated in opposition, and the argument would be just as fair, that the protestants had resolved on the extermination of the catholics, as some individuals of them have expressed themselves favourable to such a measure, and have lamented the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in Ireland, as, in their mind, it prevented the extirpation of the whole of the United Irish, by them denominated *catholics*. These sentiments, as already mentioned, have been so notorious, as to find utterance even in parliament.

During the whole period of the late commotions of Ireland, it is a fact no less surprising

than true, that the fair sex were respected even by those who did not hesitate to rob or murder ; no one instance existing of a female being injured or violated, including the wives, sisters and daughters of those denominated the greatest enemies of the people ; in whose conduct appears another very striking feature : with respect to the King, they were silent ; his majesty's name was not mentioned with disrespect, nor was he considered as the cause of their misfortunes ; but, indeed, they preserved no such delicacy with respect to the characters of those whom they considered the promoters and supporters of their persecutions : they reviled them in the strongest terms of reprobation, and did not spare many of their lives or properties.

In case of plunder, no person's house was spared who was not at home to prevent it, or who was not fortunate enough to have a confidential guard to welcome the marauders, who pleaded the public service in excuse of robbery and outrage ; but meat and drink, if freely offered and supplied, generally preserved a house from otherwise inevitable direption. On these occasions, the enemies and friends of the people, were alike subject to depredation.

Several persons, who had been much disliked by the populace, had the good fortune to possess faithful servants, who by a free offer of what was wanted in the house, saved all the rest ; while many others, who were much beloved by the people, suffered considerably in their houses and properties, in consequence of the dishonesty of those who were left in care of them, as they countenanced and encouraged pillage, in hopes thereby to screen their own villany, in appropriating to themselves the best and most valuable part of the plunder.

Great numbers crowded into Wexford from the different camps and other parts of the country, demanding supplies of salt, tobacco, spirits and leather ; threatening to set fire to the town in case of resistance, or not of immediate compliance. The mode adopted in managing the supplies, was, that the committee issued orders to those possessing any of the articles in demand, to furnish the same in a specified quantity ; but the frequency of application, so multiplied their employment, that it was not possible for them to attend to all the various business that accumulated upon them ; and finding themselves unequal to the task, they were obliged to call for assistance, and a

separate committee for each article in demand was consequently appointed. To please the lower classes, who had expressed dissatisfaction, some of them were now associated with those of higher rank, in this discharge of public duty, the trouble and vexation of which they had no conception of until they shared in the labour, whereby those originally appointed were greatly relieved, and the common people henceforward proved less troublesome to them, as their compeers and companions were more successful in their arguments, to persuade them of the great difficulty of supplying them in as large quantities as before, and so reconciling them to accept of less. Various plunder took place on the army taking possession of the town, great part of which was afterwards restored, as orders were issued that all kinds of property not belonging to those in whose possession it might be found, should be returned on pain of death. The court-house in Wexford was the depositary for such property, which the owners recovered on making their claim.

The peace and quietness, existing in the town of Wexford during the popular commo-



tions, except the little disturbance frequently occasioned, by the vociferous commissaries from the camps, was very remarkable. At night, particularly, the most solemn silence continually prevailed, as all the inhabitants retired early to rest, and the utmost regularity of conduct, and peaceable behaviour was observed. The weather was remarkably warm and serene, and the physicians in town apprehended a gaol-fever from the numbers in confinement. Among the several expedients to remedy this evil, it was suggested to make two of the churches a lodgment for prisoners, being considered healthy and eligible situations, but this scheme was warmly and effectually opposed by the principal chiefs, as it might be deemed disrespectful to the seat of the protestant worship, while those of the latter persuasion were eager and urgent to have it so occupied, in order as they said, to thin the crowds confined in the common prisons. As a substitute for this disappointment, the assembly rooms were then resorted to, and fifty of the prisoners were confined there, while twenty-four of the principal gentlemen were sent on board a sloop in the harbour, which had been fitted out for that purpose. Another sloop

had been also intended for like occupancy, but was condemned as unfit for that service.

To endeavour to please the people, who were very vociferous against all those they considered as occasioning the cruelties practised against them, the following proclamation was issued.

### PROCLAMATION

OF THE PEOPLE OF WEXFORD.

“Whereas, it stands manifestly notorious,  
 “that James Boyd, James Hawtrey, Hunter  
 “Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late  
 “magistrates of this town, have committed  
 “the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence and  
 “oppression, against our peaceable and well-  
 “disposed countrymen; now we, the people,  
 “associated and united for the purpose of pro-  
 “curing our just rights, and being determined  
 “to protect the persons and properties of those  
 “of all religious persuasions, who have not  
 “oppressed us, and are willing to join with  
 “heart and hand our glorious cause; as well as  
 “to shew our marked disapprobation and hor-  
 “ror of the crimes of the above delinquents,  
 “do call on our countrymen at large, to use  
 “every exertion in their power to apprehend  
 “the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd,

“ James Hawtrey, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and to secure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people.  
“ *Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.*

“ GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.”

The camp, which had been stationed at Carrick-byrne, was removed to Slykielter, a hill which rises over the river of Ross, formed by the united streams of the Nore and Barrow, with design to intercept the navigation of this channel, between Waterford, Ross, and Duncannon-Fort. In this they in some degree succeeded; for, though they failed in their attempt on the gun-boats, in their engagements with which many lives were lost, they obliged some armed vessels to surrender; in one of these was a mail, from which they learned much concerning the state of the kingdom in general, from news-papers and governmental dispatches.

The country was so guarded in every quarter, as to have a party stationed at every cross-road, and this service was allotted to the old and infirm, or such as were incapable of bearing the fatigue of marching, but they were also

attended by many others who absented themselves from the camps on various pretences : Some women and children were likewise to be seen at these several posts, and the vigilance was such, that no person could pass unknown, nor was it possible to be at liberty, and be considered neuter.

A pitched cap being found in the barrack of Wexford, and an Orange commission or warrant, appointing a serjeant of the North Cork militia, to found an Orange Lodge in the town, roused the people, from the utmost tranquillity to the highest pitch of fury. This quickly drew together great numbers in the barrack-yard, and their horror of the Orange system was so excited, that in those emblems they imagined they possessed the most convincing proof of their intended extermination. After a variety of confused exclamation against the promoters, it was resolved to clap the pitched cap on the head of the Orange Lord, who they said, had been the introducer of that system in the town of Wexford. They accordingly proceeded from the barrack, exhibiting the pitched cap on the top of a pike, displaying at the same time, the Orange commission or war-

rant, and were in direct march, with violent exultation, to Lord Kingsborough's lodgings. To rescue this obnoxious person from instant destruction, Mr. Hay (the benevolent and popular gentleman already mentioned,) sought to appease the multitude by addressing them from the window of the room in which his lordship was confined, but this was not effected 'till many of the principal inhabitants, composing the councils, were brought to the scene of tumult; when one of them, on pretence of looking at the pitched cap, took and threw it over the quay, and the hated emblem being no longer in view, the fury of the people abated, the Orange commission or warrant was taken from them, and they dispersed, nor was there any thing more heard of the affair until the next morning, when the captain of the guard for the day, having every thing previously arranged and ready, after parade, when all others had retired to breakfast, and on his own mere authority, took down lord Kingsborough and his officers to the quay, and conducted them on board the ship that had been fitted out but condemned, where he provided them with abundance of fresh straw, and placed a detachment of his guard over them.

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All this was executed with such haste and precaution, that it was not for some time known to the gentlemen of the Council. These, however, on hearing of the affair, assembled, and appealed to the people, then collected to know what was the matter. They represented to them, that these officers had surrendered on condition of being treated as prisoners of war, they ought not to be confined on board a condemned ship; and the consequence was, that two physicians were sent on board to examine and inspect the state of the vessel, on whose report that she was not fit for any person to be confined in, Lord Kingsborough and his officers were brought back to their former situation, where they remained until the surrender of the town; the vessel was then hauled into the harbour, when she sunk within a foot of her deck.

From the great heat and violence of the people against Lord Kingsborough, in consequence of reports of his cruelty and exertions in flogging, and the other modes previously practised for quieting the people, different parties, from town and country, frequently proceeded to the house where he was confined, with an intention of putting him to death, but the

guards always refusing to give him out to them without an order, and during the delay thus occasioned, providentially for his lordship, one or other of the principal inhabitants, usually came up, and by representing the conditions, which had been promised him on surrendering, they prevailed on the people to depart. Considering the great fury of the people against Lord Kingsborough for his previous violent exertions, being very cruel and sanguinary, his escape must be considered really wonderful, if not truly astonishing, and we can account for it in no other manner, than that the south of Ireland not having been his scene of action, and there existing no kind of communication with any other quarter, there could not possibly be any positive proof adduced of his actions, except in a solitary instance, which was easily got over. His lordship had been, previous to his imprisonment, but a very short time in Wexford, as he left that town in two or three days after he had marched into it with his regiment. But some of his officers had observed a lady at a window, viewing the troops as they came in, who attracted their particular notice. After dinner, at which the bottle had pretty freely circulated, the recol-

lection of the sight of this lady had so far worked on the minds of some of the lads, that they proposed to sally forth and endeavour to obtain a nearer view of her; and Lord Kingsborough being a young man himself, humour-ed the frolick, and accompanied them. Not gaining admittance, however, as expected, they, in the military stile, resolved to storm the premises, and his lordship being a tall, athletic man, raised one of the officers on his shoulders, who was thereby enabled, as the house was low, to get in through a window in the second story. The lady's husband was absent, and herself quite alone in the house, but on perceiving their intentions, she got out by a back window, and thus eluded their design, as well as put an end to any farther progress in this adventure. When his lordship afterward became a prisoner, this was quoted as an unfavourable circumstance, but it was obviated with little difficulty by an argument, (not at all intending to throw the least reflection on the lady's character) which was, that her husband was himself a prisoner with the people, against whom therefore the offence could never have been intended, as no attempt of the kind had been made on any of



their wives or families, but was an insult offered by one whom they called an enemy, to another whom they thought deserving of the same appellation. This point being thus settled, and all other accusations against his lordship being general, they were the more easily overcome; but had they been particular, the event might have been quite otherwise, as the injured person or persons, for the most part, would not listen to any kind of reasoning, but obstinately hold out and persevere in their accusations and complaints, which they so feelingly impressed on the assemblage of people appealed to on such occasions, that they usually gained over their sympathetic approbation of the measures they proposed, and would thus succeed against all intercession.

The United armies in the different camps, being in great want of gunpowder, without which they could not proceed, remained stationary for several days, as the powder in Wexford was considered too little for its defence, and different reports were circulated, that it was to be attacked from the southern quarter. The demand for gunpowder, however, from the camp on Gorey-hill, was so pressing, that a few barrels of it was sent thither from

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Wexford to enable the army to proceed to Arklow, which, on the defeat of General Walpole, had been deserted by the military, but the inhabitants of which, on being left to themselves, remained quietly at home, imitating the example that had been set them at Gorey, before the battle of Tubberneering, when they were forced and overwhelmed into the system of the insurrection. The Cavan and Drogheda militia were ordered from Dublin, to join General Walpole's division, then under General Needham, and they marched into Arklow on the 6th of June; different other regiments of the Royal army arrived there on the 7th and 8th. The whole force in Arklow, amounted to six thousand men. The United Irish had marched from Gorey-hill to Coolgreny, where, arranging their mode of attack, they proceeded in two great columns, one toward the fishery on the sea side, commanded by Messrs. Fitzgerald and Perry; and the other toward the upper end of the town, headed by a clergyman, intending to make the attack on both ends of the town at once. The regular military having full notice of the approach, were very advantageously posted, without which they could,

not have resisted the impetuous attack made upon them ; however, they were obliged to retire somewhat from their original positions. In a violent effort to gain the upper end of the town, the Rev. Michael Murphy, with the principal chiefs who led on the United Irish at that side, fell, and this stopped the progress and prevented the success of the attempt. Various did the fortune of the day seem to incline ; it is necessary, however, to mention that rumours of a retreat of the King's troops were circulated, and that orders were given, and seeming preparations made for that purpose, but this still appears a disputed point, and as the proverb has it, "all is well that ends well." The United Irish after having displayed singular bravery, courage and intrepidity, as long as their ammunition lasted, retreated when that was expended, to their former position at Gorey ; and thus ended the battle, at the very moment that it is alledged the army had determined to retreat, and some of the military had already retreated.

This battle, though not altogether the most bloody, was perhaps the most important of this war, since it probably decided the fate of Ireland, in saving the capital, and all the pro-

vincial towns in that quarter, from falling into the hands of the revolutionists.

As the United Irish were not pursued in their retreat, they carried away most of their wounded, so that their loss could not be ascertained, but is supposed to have amounted to at least fourteen hundred men.

The encampment at Slieve-kielter was transferred from thence to Lacken-hill, within a mile of the town of Ross; and, although Mr. Harvey had manifested uncommon courage, and had formed an excellent plan for the attack of that town, which failed of success only by not following his directions, yet no consideration prevented his conduct from being blamed, and he, therefore, leaving the command to Messrs. Roche and Devereux, returned to Wexford to act as head of the Council.

The King's troops, stationed at Newtown-Barry, made several excursions, and in the course of their progress, some miles from the town, they shot every man they met, however unarmed and unoffending, and plundered and burned several houses. The United Irish on Vinegar-hill, irritated by these excesses, fol-

lowed the example, and day after day made excursions from their camp to counteract the regular military ; but, however, it so happened, that they did not fall in with each other, as they proceeded on different sides of the Slaney, which prevented their meeting, although their depredations were in sight of each other ; and, while the one party was burning and destroying what they considered enemy's property in one quarter, the other, actuated by revenge, was committing like devastation in another, and it would seem, as if by preconcertion, that both moved in different directions on every particular day of excursion, so that the only warfare between them was an apparent strife, who should cause the greatest desolation, or who should appear most eager to destroy what was spared by the other, so that the state of the country was truly lamentable.

There were but few gunsmen belonging to the stationary camp at Vinegar-hill, and an attack on that post being apprehended, all the gunsmen that could be spared, were sent there from Wexford. These men had not experienced any of the persecutions practised previous to the insurrection, and were consequently untainted with the rancorous spirit of revenge

which they produced in other quarters. In short, they were remarkable for regularity of conduct, and they prevented a continuation of the cruel acts that had been hitherto perpetrated there; for, being shocked on the morning of the 10th of June, which was the next after their arrival, by seeing a man put to death in Enniscorthy, the Wexford men would not witness such another scene, and they declared they would not permit another instance of the kind while they remained, and their humane example shamed the most refractory, whom they awed into order, so that not another person suffered in Enniscorthy thenceforward, until the 20th; but, prior to this, the town exhibited a melancholy spectacle. Horrors, and incessant apprehensions of death, attended the hapless Royalists who had not effected their escape from the devoted ground:—They were every where seized and dragged to prison, where, after a summary trial, many of them were shot or hanged.

On the 10th of June, an attack was made by some gun-boats on Fethard, where, after destroying all the boats, mostly belonging to poor fishermen, the crews set fire to and burned many houses. This occurrence, with seve-

mal ships, of war, being seen off the coast, renewed the former opinion, that a landing and attack was intended in the southern part of the county. Small camps of observation, were therefore instituted at Carne and Rastoonstown, to be attended by all the married men of the neighbourhood, they being supposed to prove more watchful for the protection of their wives and families, by obviating sudden emergency, while all the bachelors, fit for actual service, were ordered to attend at Lacken-hill. In Wexford, attempts were made to manufacture gunpowder, to supply the scarcity of that article.

As the United army had not a sufficiency of gunpowder to undertake any new attack, they remained inactive in their several encampments for some days; but, in order to obtain a supply of that article, it was resolved to make an attack on Borris, a town in the county of Carlow, where, it was supposed, lay a great quantity of arms and ammunition. A detachment, accordingly, proceeded from the camp on Vinegar-hill, to that on Lacken-hill, where, receiving reinforcement, the United party moved forward to the attack of Borris, where they arrived after a night's march, early

on the morning of the 12th. The cavalry stationed there, fled on the approach of the United Irish, but the infantry who had retired to the castle, defended it with great bravery, keeping up a constant fire. The cannon the United party had brought with them, was too small to have any effect on the castle, as the only ball discharged from one of them, rebounded from the wall; and an attack by musketry, was of course considered ineffectual. As no hopes then remained of taking the fortress by assault or battery, the assailants set the barracks, and town adjoining, on fire, in hopes of forcing the garrison to dislodge themselves for protection, but this manœuvre proving ineffectual, and the United force having expended all their ammunition in useless efforts, and having lost many of their men, returned to the several encampments from which they had been detached.

The encampment on Gorey-hill, had by this time removed to Limerick-hill, and the King's army, which was now daily reinforced, made frequent sallies from their several stations, and committed the most violent excesses, putting to death every man who came in



their way, whether by accident or otherwise, nor were the United Irish backward in retaliation, so that the situation of such as were placed between the contending parties, was truly pitiable, being uncertain for an instant of the safety of their lives or properties, and equally subject to military and popular violence and devastation. Several strong reports had now prevailed throughout the country, that the most desperate atrocities had been committed by the Royal soldiery in their different quarters, and this roused the already irritated passions of the people to revenge, so as to be productive of many lamentable acts of outrage, ever attendant on civil commotion, and keeping alive those melancholy discords which never occur in modern times, between separate and independant nations at war, and which all enlightened and humane people so strongly detest and reprobate. Reports of these enormities very much alarmed the minds of the prisoners in Wexford, as they strongly apprehended it might produce an alteration in the conduct of the inhabitants toward them. A petition to government, from those confined in the gaol, was accordingly drawn up, expressive of the danger of their situation, should the

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people be prompted to retaliation upon them; by the conduct of the King's troops toward such of the populace or their friends, as might fall into their hands; and on this occasion the officers, who were prisoners in Wexford, appeared more alarmed than the others there in confinement. They accordingly communicated to Mr. Hay their apprehensions and wishes, and proposed striking out some mode of putting a stop to the violences which they very naturally feared, might soon involve their inevitable destruction. Lord Kingsborough was for proposing an exchange of prisoners, as the best method of allaying the prevailing alarms, and of suppressing the heat and violence of the people, now roused to the highest pitch of fury, and breathing nothing but revenge. Indeed, from the critical state of the country, and the people in general who were absent from camp, abiding no controul, it was difficult to devise what could be best attempted to avert the fate that seemed to impend over every person of any distinction, having the misfortune of being then in this quarter of the kingdom, while all the chiefs throughout the several encampments, most feelingly lamented the great disorders prevailing, and in conjunc-

tion with every individual of the least respectability, most strongly reprobated the cruelties and excesses that were perpetrated. So violent was the spirit of retaliation and vengeance, which seemed to actuate the whole mass of the people, that every danger was to be apprehended from it, unless some means were taken to allay the existing ferment. On the 13th of June, several generals from the different encampments, led by the most benevolent motives, as if by preconcerted agreement, waited on the Commander in Chief in Wexford, to consult on the best mode of keeping their enraged armies in order, over whom they declared they had then but little controul, and they now expressed their fears, that the best disposed of the men, who had been hitherto distinguished for good conduct and humanity, might be induced, by the prevailing rage, to commit acts of which they had yet been so far from guilty, that they gave them the most strenuous opposition. The abomination of Scullabogue had excited such general horror, that it became a material object of consideration on this occasion, when it was resolved to institute an enquiry for the purpose of punishing in the most exemplary manner, the perpe-

trators of this infernal transaction ! The existing state of the country, prevented at the moment, the accomplishment of so desirable an object. A favourable circumstance occurred at this time, which led to a hope that conciliation might be attempted with some probability of success. A message was sent to a prison-ship in the harbour of Dublin, offering liberty to any one who would undertake to go to Wexford with letters for Lord Kingsborough. Accordingly a man of the name of John Tunks undertook the task, and being provided with the necessary passes, he arrived safe at Limerick-hill camp, whence he was sent with some principal persons, to the Commander in Chief in Wexford. He immediately assembled those of the Council he thought best able to advise him how to proceed, and it was considered fortunate that many respectable persons from the country, were then in the town, all of whom approved of endeavouring to forward the sentiments of the prisoners, along with Lord Kingsborough's answer, but how to reconcile the devoted Chiefs, and their army, to the measure, without which nothing effectual could be done, was the difficulty. The committees in Wexford, as various business and

orders had been pressed on them from time to time, not at all within the scope of their intentions, upon undertaking that arduous duty, were not considered likely, in the present instance, to act with effect, particularly as their numbers had been increased on the augmentation of business, and this too, by the accession of low declamatory persons, who might procrastinate the proceedings for immediate remedy. Accordingly, those who had been in consultation with the Commander in Chief, proceeded along with him to the house wherein the different committees usually met; and here eight persons, considered the most capable of applying a speedy and effectual remedy to the existing evil, were appointed, and the body so selected, denominated "The Council appointed to manage the affairs of the People," of which Mr. Harvey was chosen President. This plan was to be communicated to the different camps, and such of the persons as might not be approved of by the people, were to be removed, and replaced by others. This arrangement met with the heartfelt approbation of all the prisoners, especially as the Council immediately proceeded to forward the very plan they themselves had previously intended

to put in operation. It was thought necessary, also, to confine the messenger, Tunks, in the gaol, as he was very talkative, particularly with respect to Lord Kingsborough's cruelties in Dublin, to some parts of which, he said, he had been an eye-witness. His manner and stories, if left at liberty, might inflame the minds of the people, whom, at this time, it was so necessary not to provoke, but by every possible means to conciliate.

Captain M'Manus, being deputed by the prisoners in the gaol, was conducted to consult with Lord Kingsborough, who accordingly wrote a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, in the name of all the prisoners, (among whom there were thirteen officers of rank, besides several subaltern officers, and principal gentlemen of the country,) intimating their great danger, but that they had hitherto been well treated, and in every respect, as prisoners of war, and therefore hoping that the prisoners taken by the Royal army, might meet the like good treatment with them, for that otherwise, they feared reprisals might be made, and their destruction prove inevitable. This letter, along with any others that the officers chose to send to their friends, was to be forwarded to the next com-

manding officer of the army, and the messenger was to return with an answer with all convenient speed. Captain Bourke, of the North-Cork militia, was appointed to carry the remainder of the scheme into execution, and accordingly on the evening of the 14th day of June, he set out from Wexford, accompanied by Mr. Carty to Enniscorthy. On their way, they fell in with the infamous Captain Dixon and his marauding banditti, composed of such as he could prevail on to desert their Chiefs. This inhuman miscreant, seemingly acquiesced in the business; yet such was his duplicity, that he galloped with his party, on before the others, to Enniscorthy, where, by mischievous representations, and deceitful contrivances, he so wrought upon the people, as to induce them not to suffer the letters to be forwarded, and such was his influence at the moment, that not only Captain Bourke was in imminent danger, but even Mr. Carty, ran great risque in opposing his villainous machinations; but, after being baffled in their laudable intentions, they were, after great hazard, permitted to return in safety the next day to Wexford.

Considering the defenceless state of the country, and the existing circumstances of the

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day, the situation of the newly appointed Council, was far from enviable. It became their duty to endeavour so avert the tremendously impending fate, which threatened the country with inevitable destruction, and to exert themselves to the utmost of their power, to concert such measures as would appear most likely to prove effectual. At such a critical period, their undertaking the arduous task, must be considered as dictated by the purest sentiments of philanthropy, as what other possible motive could induce any one of them to place himself in such a perilous situation, at a time that it was well known to every man of rational observation, that the efforts of the United Irish would not be attended with final success?—They had indeed undertaken a most difficult task, although they have not escaped the censure of partizans of all sides; who, while they venture to express prejudiced opinions, have no conception of the then existing state of the country. In short, the Council were placed in as embarrassing a predicament as can well be imagined, seemingly at the head of a refractory outrageous populace, whom they anxiously sought to rescue from



destruction, while these mostly counteracted their best and most benevolent intentions. However, when called on at this dangerous juncture, as considered capable of applying a remedy to the enormous evil, all petty considerations vanished, and they undertook to meet the difficulty with firmness and resolution; and, when such urgent necessity existed, any man should be deemed an enemy to the human race, who would refuse to contribute all in his power toward the salvation of his countrymen. According to the nature of the existing evil, so should be that of the counteracting measures.—From this consideration, the Council did not think it right, for the preservation of the people, to declare, or even in the smallest degree, to allow their defenceless state. On the contrary, it was considered necessary, along with the endeavour to encourage general union and harmony, to appear to be, as much as possible, able and determined to adopt the most firm and decisive measures, with the view of obtaining the more favourable conditions for the people.

The critical situation of the Council, as far as it regarded the management of the people

themselves, may be well exemplified by the following occurrence. The town of Wexford, being in a state of the utmost tranquillity, was all at once thrown into the most violent confusion and alarm, by a great cavalcade coming into it over the bridge, preceded by the blood-thirsty Dixon and his wife, who rode through the streets; while he, with gesture and expression the most outrageous, exhibited a fire-screen, ornamented with various emblematical figures, representing some heathen gods, with orange bordering, fringe and tassels, which he represented as the insignia of an Orange Lodge, and the figures he tremendously announced as the representations of the tortures which the United Irish were to suffer from Orangemen; calling on the people to take signal vengeance, as he produced to them, he said, the discovery of the whole plot, found at Artramont, the seat of Colonel Lehunte. It is impossible to describe the fury of the people on this occasion, roused to the most violent pitch in an instant, and only to be accounted for on the principle of their supposition, or rather persuasion, of their intended extermination, which the sight of any thing orange

awakened in the most sensitive manner, similarly to what has been before related, concerning the Orange warrant or commission, and pitched cap discovered in the barracks of Wexford.—When Captain Dixon had, by this infernal and tumultuous conduct, assembled almost all the inhabitants of the town, (whose phrensy on seeing the orange ornaments, and hearing his assertions most desperately vociferated, it is impossible to describe,) he proceeded directly to the house wherein the aged and respectable Colonel Lehunte lodged, dragged him out, and marched him down to the gaol, amidst a furious and enraged mob, by whom it is wonderful that his life was spared at the instant.

The principal inhabitants immediately assembled, and very narrowly escaped being all put to death; for, as they met in the committee-house, opposite which the mob had collected, a common ruffian had the audacity to come in and fire a shot amidst them all, and actually arrested one of the council, which so provoked a gentleman present, who happened to have his pistols about him, that he cocked one of them, and was ready to shoot the fel-

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low, but was fortunately prevented ; for it is believed, had the ruffian been shot, the destruction of every one in the house would have been the inevitable consequence. The populace at length permitted some gentlemen to address them from the windows, and it was a considerable time before they were able to persuade them that all their fury and madness had proceeded from the exhibition of a fire-screen, on which were represented some heathen gods, and which formed part of the ornaments of a room furnished three years before, with orange borderings and trimmings, then considered the most fashionable colour.

On the 16th, the United army set out from their encampment at Limerick-hill to Carnew, where meeting with no force to interrupt their career, they proceeded as far as Tinehaly; here they had smart skirmishing with the army, from whom they took a great number of cattle, which they drove on before them, and encamped that night at Mount-pleasant. On their quitting Limerick-hill, in the morning, the prisoners who were confined in Gorey, were thence brought to Vinegar-hill, from which they were conveyed under a strong escort, and

lodged in the gaol of Wexford. The disposition of the Council, in not permitting any of the prisoners there confined to be brought out of the gaols, where they were considered in perfect safety, was well known, as many refusals had been made to demands of the kind from the country, when it was apprehended the intention was *not to set them at liberty*, but to put them to death; in the present instance, therefore, this strong escort, which consisted of Enniscorthy men, gave no intimation of any design until they got possession of the gaol, while delivering the prisoners they had brought with them; but then, overpowering the guards, they forced away with them four men who had been very obnoxious to the people, and with them quitted the town immediately, in order to afford no time to rescue the unfortunate victims from them. The four devoted men were taken to Enniscorthy, where they were the next morning put to death, the Wexford gunsmen having returned home on the evening before, for during their stay in that town, only one man suffered, soon after their arrival, and they would by no means allow the repetition of such another deed, as has been before observed.

On the 16th, several people from the neighbourhood of Gorey, formed a small encampment on Ask-hill, between Gorey and Arklow, from which last-mentioned town, since the battle fought there, the troops issued with peculiar caution. On this day, however a troop of the Royal cavalry, had the fortitude to advance toward the little camp of the United Irish. This was at the time, very inconsiderable as to numbers, having no more than a few hundred men equipped or fit for action, the rest having either dispersed or proceeded to Vinegar-hill; and, even half the remaining number precipitately fled at the approach of the cavalry; while the other half, armed with pikes only, stripped to their shirts, to be unencumbered in exertion, ran in full speed to meet the cavalry, but these avoided the encounter, and expeditiously retreated to Arklow. The United Irish then retired from Ask-hill, and moved into the country between Oulard and Wexford, and were distributed through the different houses in that neighbourhood.

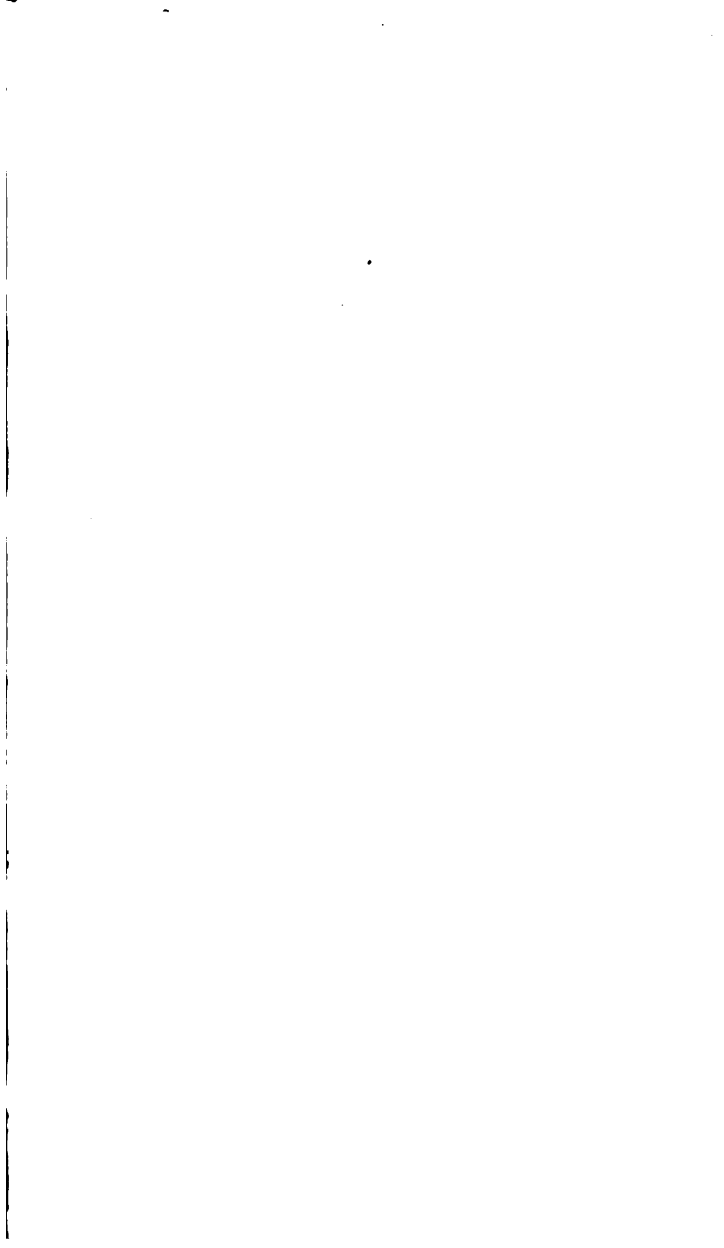
On Sunday, the 17th of June, a detachment of 400 men, sent out from the camp on Vinegar

hill, halted in Ferns until day-break of the 18th, when they marched forward with an intention of storming Newtown-Barry ; but meeting at Camolin the United Irish, who had now quitted their station at Mount Pleasant, they altered their route and returned to Vinegar hill, while the main body of the others proceeded to Carrigrew, from whence they also moved, on the next day, to Vinegar hill.

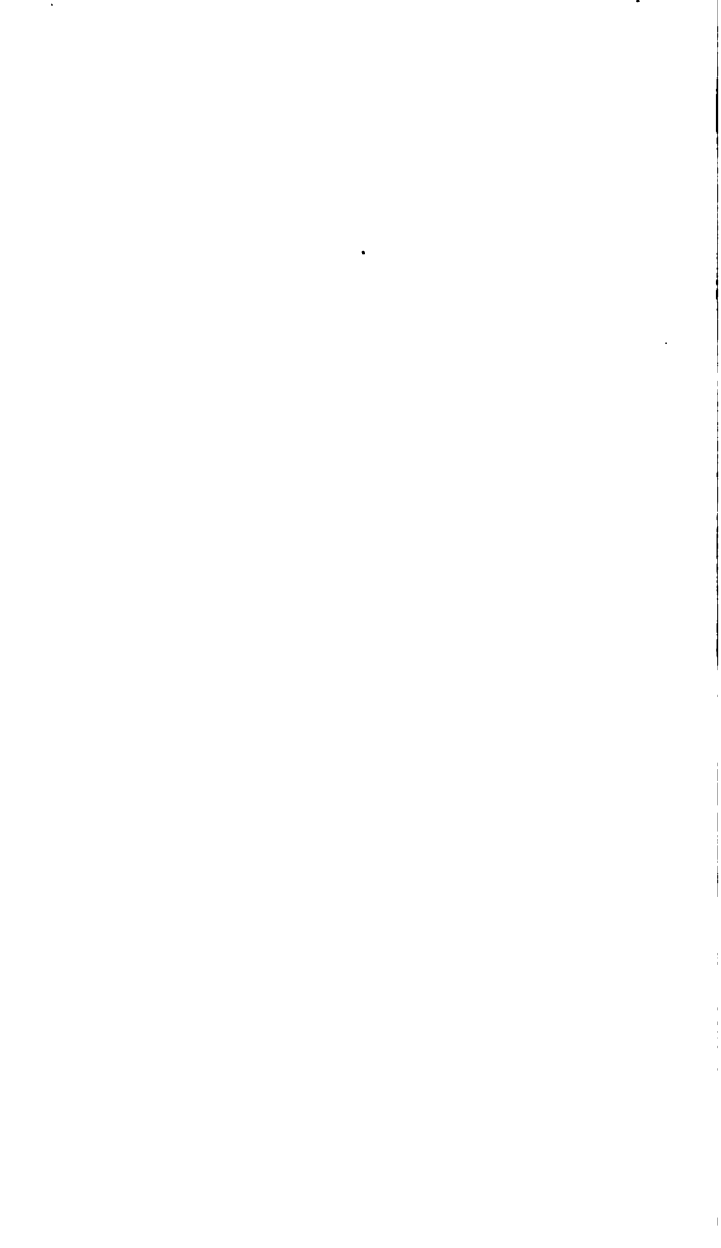
On the morning of the 19th, the encampment on Lacken-hill was attacked by a great military force which came out from Ross ; the United Irish, being provided with little or no ammunition, were obliged to retreat to the Three Rocks.

*END OF VOLUME FIRST.*













MAR 15 1941



